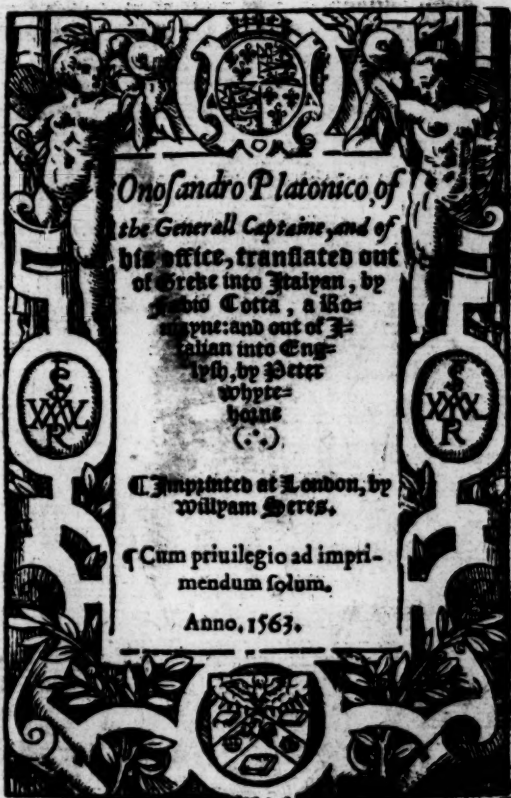


*The Ruyner.*



Onofandro Platonico, of  
the Generall Captaine, and of  
his office, translated out  
of Greke into Italian, by  
Fabio Cotta, a Ro-  
mayne: and out of It-  
alian into Eng-  
lish, by Peter  
whyte-  
borne  
(..)

Printed at London, by  
William Seres.

Cum priuilegio ad impri-  
mendum solum.

Anno, 1563.

*Thomas Linnell  
Thom. Towner*



# TO THE HONORABLE

MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED

THE PETITION OF

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TO THE HIGH AND  
myghtye Prince, Thomas Duke of  
Northfolke, Earle Marshall of Englands,  
knyght of the most noble order of the  
Garter, and one of the Queenes  
Maiesties priuy Counsell, Pe-  
ter VWhitchorne, wys-  
sheth longe lyfe  
with perpe-  
tuall feli-  
citee,



That great commoditie  
and profytte (ryght  
worthy Prince) hath  
alwayes redounded  
to the weale publy-  
kes and gouernours of the same,  
whiche in warlike discipline haue  
chiefly delited, and taken greatest  
care, and to what excellent fame  
and renoume, it hath alwayes  
broughte and exalted (yea from  
vile and abiect fortune) those that  
haue moste trauayled and in-  
A.ii. deuoyed

### *The preface.*

Deuored them selues therin, wher  
by also woinē, haue made notable  
and wonderful conquestes, of such  
as haue lytle regarded Marshall  
knowledge, the Historpe of the  
Amazons, w infinite other, doth  
manifestly and plainely declare.  
And specially the same of the Ro-  
maynes, who firste from poore  
Sheperdes, throughe their prou-  
dent skil in feates of Armes, so in-  
creased their kyngdome, and Mo-  
narchie, that in shorte time, they  
became Lordes, and Emperours  
of all the world. For by suche sci-  
ence vndoubtedly, not only forren  
Countreys are brought in subiec-  
tion, but also their owne proper  
kyngdomes are kept from outra-  
gious crueltie, & rauinous spoyle  
of the ennemies: and good lawes  
there establyshed, are quietly exe-  
cuted vpon offenders, without re-  
bellious Disturbaunce. And sure-  
lye

## *The Preface.*

ly the comming vp of the Turkes  
and the occasion of their maruey-  
lous victories, is well to be vn-  
derstande to haue happened by no  
other meanes, but onely, for that  
there is no nation in al the world,  
with whome they haue warred,  
whiche in all kinde of Marshall  
affayres and doinges, so much re-  
sembleth, and imitateth the fa-  
mous antiquitie, as they: whiche  
partlye I am able to witnes, by  
that I haue sene, when I was in  
Constantinople, and in Turkie.  
Which thing consideringe with  
my selfe, and of late happening in-  
to my handes, the copie of thys  
booke, called Onosandro Plato-  
nico. Who many yeres ago, most  
excellentlye in the Greke tounge,  
wrote of the offyce of a Generall  
Capitaine, whiche longe ago I  
didde translate out of the Italion  
tounge for mine owne exercise, and

## *The Preface.*

for the great Delight that I haue  
alwayes had in the studyng of  
the arte of war, I haue thought  
good at this present, for the com-  
mon vtilitie of my countrey men,  
who delyte in warlyke skilfulnes,  
to suffer the same to be publyshed  
in printe. In whiche booke is to  
be founde, as good aduises, and  
counsels, for a Captayne, or man  
of warre, as can possibly be inuen-  
ted or imagined. Wherefore, for as  
much as youre Grace, right no-  
ble and valiauntly, hath hereto-  
fore executed the office of a Ge-  
nerall, wherein also the worthe  
actes of youre Noble Graundfa-  
ther, is of mooste thynnyng and fa-  
mous remembraunce, I could not  
deuise with my selfe, vnto whom  
this my labour and trauaile, was  
more meete to be dedicated vnto,  
then to your Grace, who in Mar-  
shall seates, and in the profounde  
knowe

*The preface.*

knowledge thereof, is thought  
moſte expert. And although my  
translation herin, be very rude and  
grolle, yet because my good wyll  
with the effect and worthines of  
the matter is chiefly to be wayed  
and considered, my truſte is, that  
accordynge to youre accuſtomed  
gentelneſſe, you wyll accept the  
ſame in good part: conſideringe  
that grolle phraſes, cannot in e-  
quitie maime a good meaning, no  
more, then the excellent entent of  
þe lawes of this Realme, is a-  
ny whit abaſed through  
the unſauery lan-  
guage, wherein  
they are  
writ-  
ten,

*[Faint, illegible text]*

1940-1941

1950-1951

1944

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

1971

ONOSANDRO PLATONICO,  
of the General Captaine,  
and of his offyce, vnto Quintus Ve-  
ranus, a Romaine.

**T**he Arte and ma-  
ner of rydinge, of hun-  
tyng, of fyshing, and fi-  
nally of tillinge the fiel-  
des, I iudge ought to be  
written to those, which in such studies  
are wont inesppecially to delyght. But  
the waye to come to consider the of-  
fice of a General Captaine, I suppose  
(O Quintus Veranus) that aboue al  
other, is moste conuenient to the  
Romaines: and chyeslye to those,  
which of reputacion, and Senate au-  
thority, be superiours to others. And  
lykewyse it is meete for suche, as by  
the iudgement of Augustus Cesar,  
and for the true knowledge that they  
haue of such an office, and for the sin-  
guler experience of thinsynfte & moste  
weighty affaires, and also for the dig-  
nitye and worthynes of their prede-  
cessours, haue had fortune to succede  
the honourable degrees, aswel of con-  
suls,

suls, as of Captaynes : Wherefore I iudge, that to suche maner of menne, ought to be dedicated like worke: but not after suche sort, as thoughe they knewe not holwe to rule and gouerne Armyes : For in dede the cause whye I am moued to write, is specially for this respecte, seynge that many, the more they be ignoraunt, and lesse expert of things, making of other mens doynges seldome iust iudgement, so muche the more presumptuously, they continuallye perceuer, both to reprehend and to flaunder good captaines: Where those truly that haue experience and knowledge of thinges, with good respect, beholdinge the worthe & honozable enterpryses of other, haue wpyth high prayse, commended them. Wherefore although I knowe that the matter which I haue purposed to write may seme to many to haue ben a great while ago heretofore thought vpon & fully knowen: yet for all that, I wil not leaue of to bring to an end my determination: but rather more promptly I shal perseuer to proced forwards, as he that not only may seme to geue instructions profitable to Captaynes, but also as one that knoweth after  
what



What sort thei ought to commaund. And  
I shall woꝛthely repute my selfe hap-  
py, yf I be thought mete to manifest  
with woꝛds, those thynges, which the  
Romaines by meanes of their vertue  
and of their industry, most valliantlye  
brought to passe. For the which thing  
if I maye vnderstande that this my  
paines are commended and approued  
of like men: I shall then be able to say  
that in this present woꝛke, is contay-  
ned the counsels of renowned Capt-  
tains in this happy time of peace. For  
which cause, if no other thinge, at lest  
wise the same may principally aduer-  
tise and learne you, for what occasion  
hath happened vnto some, often times  
most vnfortunatly to sayght, and to  
fall into misery, and howe other ha-  
ving brought to good effecte their af-  
fayres, haue got illustrious fame and  
immortall gloꝛye. As in the ende the  
same singular excellencye of the Ro-  
maines, hath clerelye made manifest:  
for that neuer Kyng, noꝛ Citie, noꝛ  
yet, neuer Nation, coulde not come  
to obtayne greater, noꝛ to the lyke  
equall greatnesse of their Empire.  
After suche sorte, that nowe so  
longe time semes, that continuall so  
great

great largenes of dominion, they haue kept most constantly, steadfastly, and sure. For I cannot with any maner of reason perswade my selfe, that it hath hapned epyther by chaunce, or fortune, that ouer passynge the confines of Italpe, the name and Empire myght haue bene extended, to the vttermoste partes of the worlde : but that rather it hath come to passe, by prudence by counsell, and by the feates of war, and also by the famousnes, and by the glozy of actes most valiauntly done. And in dede, where as we ought to desire to haue fortune fauourable to our enterpryses, notwithstanding it is not to be iudged, that she hath rule ouer every thinge, and that she is Lady in all matters. And as they that attribute all infelicitie onelye to fortune, and not vnto the negligence & erroz of Captaynes, be fooles and ignozantes, so likewise be those, whiche thinges directly and with order done, assigne it only vnto fortune, and nothinge at al vnto vertue, and to the diligence of the Captayne. And surely it is a token of a malicious, and vnjust man, either altogether to clere him from every faulte that hath euill ministred the publike

publyke affaires, imputinge it to fortune, or to depriue him from deserved praise, the which valiantly & with industry, hath overcome and brought to good passe his desire, iudging that the glozy of the enterpryse well and valiantly executed, ought to be attributed onely vnto fortune. But almost every man, being inclined to geue confidence to them that declare or wyte those thinges, of the which they be expert, albeit that it seme they rehearse thinges high and difficult to be done, and on the contrarye part, cannot be brought to geue credit to those that shewe them any thinge, in the whiche they haue not ben exercised, although it be neyther difficulte, nor incredible: Therfore I suppose it shalbe necessary for me, first to tell you, that what so euer in thys booke I haue to wyte of the Captayne, and of the aduertysementes of warre, hath bene approued with most manifest experience of thinges, and in especially of those, whiche were patrons, & princes, of the name of the Romaines, whose excellent vertue without doubt, amongst all nations, by the consent of all menne, even to this tyme, hath obtayned hyghest dignity.

dignity. Then in this my litle booke, there is not to be comprehended any thinge done vnadvisedly, in haste, at all aduentures, noz rashely: but that which in varietie of thinges, the Romanes with sage and firme counsell egregiouslye wrought and approued. The which not only had true knowledge of that y<sup>e</sup> was to be don against the enemy: but grauely did foresee that they might not in anye maner of wyle take harme. For it shall neuer bee found, that they haue vsed other then a sure order, & iust occasion to fight. I haue therfoze gathered fro these foundations euery thing y<sup>e</sup> I haue written: Albeit that I am fully perswaded, that many would desire, that al that which of the might be spoken about such matter, shuld be esteemed rather their own proper inuention, then taken of other: as they, who beleue they shoulde attain to greater prayse, where shoulde appeare that of theym suche thinges hath bene firste found and publyshed: then if openly they shoulde confesse it, not to be theirs, and to haue rede of other Authours to attribute it. Notwithstanding for this selfe same occasion, I doe thinke to get prayse & commendment

commendacion: for as much as lyke as he  
 the whiche peradventure went to the  
 warres, where he hath wrytten the  
 halfaunt Actes of other, ought not to  
 be depprived of glozy, he hauinge leste  
 wrytten vnto the posteritye, not those  
 thinges, that with his proper force he  
 had founde & executed, but that which  
 other had done, even so I suppose not  
 to be a little praysed, and commended  
 plainlye confessyng these thynges not  
 to be inuented by me: yea by suche  
 occasion I maye seeme not vniust,  
 lye to goe about to excell all other,  
 where I ought to report the prayse of  
 other men without enuy, and tructh,  
 without dyspraysse, and withoute anye  
 maner of blame.

*Of electyng a Capytayne.*

**I** Say then, that a  
 Generall captaine ought  
 to be chosen without ha-  
 uing anye respect vnto  
 his flock, or vnto his pre-  
 dicelloys, or vnto goods of fortune: the  
 one of the whiche thynges is the cu-  
 stom obserued in the choosyng of  
 Priests

Priestes, the other in creating the presidents of plaies, and publike feastes. But suche a manne is to bee sought, who is temperate, continente, sobze, abstinent, and not excessive in eating and dzyinking, pacient in trauaile, of witte prompt, not couetous, neyther yong, noz olde, and that he haue children, if suche a one may be had, and to be a faire speaker, of good name and fame, and of muche reputacion. The cause why he ought to be temperate, is, lest being inlured & geuen to pleasure, he doe forsake the care of thinges, that be of most great importance. Continent it behoueth him to be, the which hath bene preferred to y<sup>e</sup> gouerninge of so muche importaunce: for that yf the byolence of an vnbydeled minde, chaunse to haue power and libertye to doe what so euer shall please him, it is after suche sorte with wilfulnesse ouerwhelmed, that it cannot easely be refrayned. I woulde haue hym also to be sobze, to the ende that more commodiously, he might be vigilant in y<sup>e</sup> affayres of so great waight. For that in the time of night, by quietnes of mind, the counsels of captaynes examined, more perfectly may the  
be

be confirmed. The cause that he ought to be abstinent & content with simple fare: is, forasmuch as the preparing of dishes full of delicateness, & the too much diligence and thought about meats, corrupteth and browningeth the minde after such sort, that the tyme which ought to haue bene spent in the busines that is to be done, by the delicateness of the capitaines, most vainly is consumed. The cause why he ought to be most painful, is, for that principally it doth appertain to the Capitaine, that he in the turmoiles of the war, maye be the last to be weery.

He ought to be quicke witted, for as much as it becometh him to be swift, and (as Homer saith) flyinge, to the end that with his thought, he maye most quicklye discusse euery thinge, and with his minde make iudgement, and as it were deuine, & a far off, forsee that which is to come. Least whiles there happen accidentes, neyther foreseens nor looked for, the Capitaine be constrained suddenly, and vnproviden for, to take counsell, and the safegarde of thinges to commit most fearefully, to the discretion of fortune. It becometh him not to be couetous nor desirous of

gaine. For surely of this vice he ought  
moſte principallye to take hede. For  
as muche as, he that is not geuen to  
paſſe muche of gyftes, of ſyluer, and  
golde, maye moſt honozably haue the  
charge of ſuche doings. And oute of  
doubt, there be ſome the which with-  
out anye whit fearing, for highe cou-  
rage and luſtynes of body, were apte  
to wythſtand the armyes and power  
of enemies: not wythſtanding (they be-  
come moſte byle) whileſt they be dra-  
wen with the vnſaciablenes of golde,  
the whyche is a weapon of ſo muche  
mighte to take, and as it were wyth  
lyuely force, to pul the victoꝛye out of  
ſuche mens handes, and to gyue it to  
other. I haue ſayde that the Capitain  
muſt be neither old nor yong, for that  
the one, is to muche obſtinate not to  
beleue, the other is weake in doings,  
and neyther the one, nor the other is  
mete for the rule of thinges. Where-  
foze, me thinks, that the yong man is  
to be reſuſed, to thende that by euill  
chaunce vndeſcretelye thꝛoughe ouer-  
much boldnes he happen not to com-  
mit erroꝛ. On the contrarye, it is not  
fitte to admit the olde manne, leaſt he  
for his natural weakenes, be not ſuf-  
ficient



cient. For the whiche cause, let vs  
iudge it best that age, that is in the  
middles betwene the one, and the o-  
ther: because that then, there is force  
and strength, the which is not as yet  
spent nor consumed with age: & pru-  
dence is founde in him, that is not ve-  
ry yonge. And surely if any manne in  
this thinge will approue the lustines  
and strength of the body, without the  
prudence of the minde: or lyke wise the  
witte without strength. I am certayn  
he shall doe nothing that shall be well:  
for asmuche as lyke as the body, that  
lacketh prudence, is lyttle worth to  
counsel, euen so the mind of strength  
of body, as from ministers abandoned  
cannot commodiously take in hande to  
do any attempt, nor with profit bring  
it to effecte. But he that hath bothe  
these qualities, shall be mete to execute  
every enterpryse. For that to him, as  
freely beloued of all men, both with in-  
teere affection of minde, when he shall  
commaunde, most redely they will o-  
bey, geuinge full truste vnto his wor-  
des, and to what soeuer perill he shall  
put them, the one in trial of the other,  
will all be ready to helpe.

We haue thoughte good that he  
B.ii. ought

ought to be chosen captain, that hath children, but for all that he ought not to be refused that hath none, so that otherwise he be stronge and prudent. If he haue children that be as yet but of tender yeares, they retayne altogether bounde the mynde of the father, and as ostages geuen to his country, haue force to kinde in their father a marueylous sayth and beneuolence towarde it, & as it were with sharpe spurres to prick him, and to inflame his minde against the enemies: and if his children be now come to fuller age, with weapons, with fidelitie, with counsell, with diligence, accompanying him in the trauailes and gouernment, and saythfully seruinge in secret thinges, they may vnto a common welth bringe muche profit.

Why he ought to be a goodly speaker, is for that of this, concerning the thinges that is to be entreated in the assayes of warre, we iudge there wyl followe muche vtilitie. Consideringe that eyther hauynge occasion to sette men in araye to the battaile, the Capitaine with faire wordes comfortinge the Souldiers, easelpe may perswade euery one of them to despise al perils,  
and

and to attende to the glorious enter-  
prise: nor the sounde of the trumpet,  
canne so muche inflame the mindes of  
men to take their weapons, and con-  
straine them most valiantly to faight,  
as the conuenient, and accoꝝdinge to  
the time, the sugred talke of the Cap-  
taine maye moue theym, bothe vnto  
great actes foꝝ the loue of vertue, and  
incoꝝrage them foꝝ the desire of gloꝝye,  
oꝝ els if neede be, to comefoꝝte the  
mindes afflicted foꝝ some ouerthꝝowe  
had, his woꝝdes shalbe as a medicine.  
Wherfoꝝe, foꝝ the benefite of the Host,  
foꝝ to lighten the heauinesse of accy-  
dentes, the Acomodate speakinge of  
the Captaine, by most reason, is moꝝe  
to be desired then the industrie of sur-  
geons, which solow the campe, onelye  
to thende to heale woundes: foꝝ that  
they take no charge, but to cure the  
hurts: But he with swete and curteis  
maner of speakinge, comfoꝝteth and  
moste highly maketh glad the mindes  
of the weake and afflicted. Besides al  
this, he confermeth the minds of them  
that be whole, and retaines them that  
be boldened. Then how much moꝝe  
difficulte it is to heale the infirmities  
that is byꝝde, then those whiche maye

be bothe felte and scene, euery manne knoweth. And like as no Citye will neuer make armye, noz sende theym without a Captaine, and determined gouernement, enen so neyther oughte the Captaine to be chosen such a one, that knoweth not, noz hath not the grace in speakinge, and that lacketh the faceletie and vtteraunce of speech.

Last of all we said that it behoueth to chose the Captaine, that is esteemed and of reputacion: for as muche as the common people, haue a custome it will linglye to suffer to be subiect to them who be of base condicion, & that haue neuer gotten neither honoz noz glozy. And truly there is none, if by compulsion he be not made, that will be content to folow that Captaine, who he knoweth to be of lesse worthines then himselfe. Necessary it is therfore, that he be famous and noble, and by the opinion of al men to be iudged valiant. And such a man of vertue, of stomake, and of maners, as we aboue haue declared he ought to be.

But as I holde oppinion, that no Captaine is to be elected, hauing any respect to riches: enen so I iudge the poore man is not to be refused, so that  
be

he be a good man, and a balliaunt. For in dede, I suppose not that any manne for the defaulte of fortune, whether he be pooze or rich, deserves eyther to be praised or dyspraised. And surely every man that is of abillitie and riche, and besides that adourned with bountifalnesse, so muche differeth from the poze, as an armoz garnished with siluer, and trimmed with gold, excelleth that which is made of iron and brasse, and that lacketh such kinde of setting forth. And sure it is, that the one and the other, may couer and lyke wise defende the Souldier: but the one semes to be moze excellent then the other, onelye for the giltinge and oznamment that outward is adioyned.

It is nedefull likewise, to haue aduertisement not to chose any, the which attends to gather money, and continuallye hath his minde vpon luke, and altogether is subiect to gayne, albeit he seme aboue all other neuer so abundant and riche, as doeth euery sort of marchaunts, bankers and such of lyke profession: for as muche as necessarily, they be death, and of little stomacke, as those that with al their studye attende to euery small gayne, and

gyues

gyues themselves in paye to money. ~~Wher~~by it hapneth that there can neuer growe in them, desire of any honorable, illustrious, or noble enterprise.

Surely in a Captaine, I iudge that it is to be made accompte of, the reputation and Nobilitie of hys predecessors, if that chaunce in him to be found, but where no such thinge is, it ought not to be greatly passed vpon: neyther for such cause, no man is to be reputed worthy to gouerne. And as in horse we will consider their readines, and not that which appeareth outwardly, so I am of opinion, that iudgement is to be made of the nobilitie of men. It is verely, a foolish and straunge thing not to consider who & what they be, vnto the which must be geuen commission to defende and to kepe oure Estate, and yet to beholde what they haue bene, and what their predecessors haue done: as if they which now so long agon are dead, might both defende and saue vs. Moreover, it is a thinge altogether vniust, and that in no maner of wise is conuenient, by order or lawe of Armes, to determine, that to them, the whiche haue in some  
affaires

and alres acquitted them selues valiant  
he geuen rewards and honoꝛs, not foꝛ  
being boꝛne of most noble parentage:  
and to iudge afterwarde, that foꝛ a  
Captayne he ought to be chosen, the  
whiche only hath his oziginall of bali-  
aunt and noble pꝛogenitours, and not  
he that doth trust in his owne pꝛoper  
vertue, wherin he excelleth, although  
he lacke the gloꝛy and bꝛauesnes of his  
Ancestry and stocke. The whiche thin-  
ges ioined vnto vertue, such a captain  
I suppose verely, shoulde be so mu-  
che the moze aduenturous: but where  
lacketh his pꝛoper vertue, I esteeme  
him without any doubt, to be altoge-  
ther vaine and vnꝛositable: yea, and  
by most reason it is to be thought, that  
they will become better Captaynes,  
the whyche of illustrious and fa-  
mous bloud, cannot muche boaste, foꝛ  
as muche as they, whome in the woꝛ-  
thines of their foꝛefathers, doe trust,  
thinke foꝛ the selfe same renowne of  
thems, to be honoured, if sometime in  
their offyce, they comit any fault: such  
confidence they haue in the reputaci-  
on and name of their Ansetry: wherby  
it hapneth, that oftentimes they moze  
negligently gouerne. But these that  
hath

haue no maner of hope in the gloze of  
their Ancesters, & to whō hath not de-  
cended any sparke of worthines, from  
their forefathers, whilēt w<sup>th</sup> their owne  
proper sollicitatēnes and industry, they  
desire vnto the contrarie of their vn-  
knownes, to put in light, their owne  
proper actes, moze warelye they pro-  
cure thinges, & in the ende with moze  
prompt and glad minde dispose them  
selues to euery perill. And like as they  
that by inheritance haue not had leste  
theim great aboundaunce, noz riche  
patrimonie, moze circumspectlye will  
kepe their goodes, then the richer  
oz welthier wil do, for asmuch as they  
with all diligence and labour, wil in-  
force theim selues to increase alwayes:  
euen so those, whiche can not serue  
them selues of the fame and gloze of  
their fathers, as a thing of inheritāce:  
by all maner of wayes, seke to attaine  
reputacion, whiche shall be of their  
owne proper indeuor.

We ought therfore to chose the cap-  
taine, valiaunte, of noble bloude, ad-  
uenturus, ryche, but yet neuertheles  
the pooze is not to be despised and re-  
fused, so that he, althoughe he be not  
borne of illustrious progenitours be  
famous



famous, and esteemed, for his own proper vertue. And after that he is elected and confirmed in suche degre, be pleasant, gentle, and chereful to them that will come to his presence: notwithstandinge he ought not in euery place to euery man shew him self so benigne and gentell: least he happen to be despised, neyther so proude, and stout, that he moue other to beare hym hatred. And that he doe this to thintent that with to muche licence and benignitye, he cause not the Armye to be dissolute, or with sharpenes and severitye, make them aillanate theyr mindes, and to become enemies.

*Of chusinge the heades of  
the Souldiers.*



**T**HE Capytayne must elect and ordein the Decurians, the Centurians, and ordinate the other heades of Souldiers, accorbynge as the thinge shall require, and as he shall thinke

A Decurian is a petty captain of ten men  
A Centurion is a captain of a C. m.

thynke to be nedefull. And of these to take and chose those, whose vertue is wel knowen: and that be lykewise stronge and bolde, and saythfull to their countrie. And in makinge suche election, it makes no matter to take both noble & rich, (foz asmuch as there is not to be chosen only, one oꝝ two) that amongst a fewe, and those that be of good and honeste maners, the election may be the easier. When specially in distributinge with order, and lastely the number of the Decurians, of the Centurians, and finallye of the other heades, the richest, and the most noble, are most nedeful. And surely it is of much vtility to a common welth to set foꝝward y nobility at such time when an enterpryse is to be taken in hand, in the doyng wherof is required seleretic. Likewise also, the commoditie of money is greatlye to be desired, when it is necessarye to geue something to the Souldiers, & to spende liberallye. Foꝝ that the liberalitie of Princes and leaders, although it be but a litle, if with benignitie, liberally, and at time conuenient, it be vsed, it may get molte great beneuolence of the multitude: and from thencefoꝝth the most assured fidelitie of the Souldiers

diſers gottē, it doth ad vnto it ſecurity  
and conſtantenēs in the enterpriſe, ſe-  
ing in dede euery man hopes to obtain  
greater thinges, bearinge them ſelues  
valiantlye in ſayghtinge, whan they  
knowe that in litle thinges, the libe-  
ralitie of the Captaine cometh of the  
proper benignitye of his owne minde.

### *Of Counſellers.*

**B**esides all thys,  
it is necessarye that the  
Captaine haue with him  
some Counsellours and  
companions, with whō  
he may deliberate vpon euery matter.  
And they being made partakers of the  
counsellēs, muste in time and place  
tell their iudgementes. And let him  
chose theym eyther before he purpose  
to do any thyng, that they may solow  
him, and the army for to doe their of-  
fice, or els after that he shalbe set for-  
ward, to cal before the day of battaile,  
of the most noblest, & of greateſt gra-  
uitie, and to cause them to come vnto  
him, the whyche together wpyth him,  
ought of euerye thyng to debate.

For

For as much as al those thinges, that  
anye man of hym selfe hath founde,  
he may alone by him selfe with study  
examine, but he oughte not strayght  
wayes to approue and confirme it: for  
that our thoughts and Councels, as a  
thing vnto the which we haue a natu-  
ral affectio, if of others saythful counsell  
it be not holpen, easely it may beguile  
vs, and many times it is founde to be  
full of errozes: contrarywyle, those  
thinges, that by iudgement and oppo-  
nion of other be approued, dothe assure  
the mynde, and kepeth thynges sta-  
ble and sure. Notwithstanding, no  
man oughte so little to truste on hym  
selfe, that alwayes he be of opinyon  
weake and doubtfull, noz of him selfe  
so much to presume, that he thinke o-  
ther cannot fynd counsell better then  
his. For that it shalbe necessary, that  
he, whiche is alwayes subiecte to the  
counsell of other, hauing altogether  
distruste of him selfe, come to chaunge  
infinite thinges, wherby in waightye  
matters, both hurt & incomoditie doth  
solowe, as lykewyle he must nedes, ei-  
ther alwayes or often tymes commit  
erroze, that not hearing the aduise of  
other, euerye thinge doth attribute to  
him

him selfe alone.

*Of the warre that is to be  
taken in hande.*

**J**udge that the warre  
ought to be begun cy-  
cumspcctly & with pru-  
dence, as a sure founda-  
tion of thinges, wherby  
to all menne, may as it  
were moſte clearely appeare, to be ſoz  
good cauſe taken in hande. That ſoz  
the ſame they may hope that God wil  
be gracious and favourable. And  
then, the ſouldiers with boldnes moze  
gladlier and moze redier will go whe-  
ther ſo euer thou liſte to erecute thy  
commaundementes: as they the whi-  
che both well knowe, that they ought  
to do iniurpe to no man of their owne  
wil & deſire, but when they are prouo-  
ked and conſtrayned, to take them to  
their Armoz. For the whiche thing  
with al their force, and with all their  
ſtomackes, they will goe forth  
ſozwarde to the enemy. And thoſe  
haue ſo be. And thoſe that  
thinke peraduenture vniuſſly to haue  
begonne the warre, will haue ſuſpitiō  
that

that god will be against them displeased and contrary, for which only opinion although there happen not any thing unfortunately, yet they will stand with feare and terrore. And herefoze vnto a Captaine it is conuenient that of those things, the whiche he eyther requireth, or beinge of other required, that he do not graunt theym, first by mouth, and afterwarde by waye of Ambassadors to intreate thereof: to thintent that eyther demanding iust things, or denying the vniust, he may seme to be prouoked to rise in armes. Finally it is good to cal to witnes god and men, that he hath not undertaken to make warre for despite, and vnauidedlye, as though to him there could not happen those things, which oftentimes are wonte to chaunce to them, that make warre: noz also for that he for an obstinate mynde couereth to do harms and to ruinate the people. And in dede where not onely in the buyldinge of houses and walles, it is mete to cast the foundation, to the ende that they make beginninges, that they maye be able to stande and edefie the same. And thus scrupke, wyle wyle more moze diligence and

and aduertisement, greater surenes, & establisshment, is to be vsed in the beginnings of warre, before men be conducted abroad, & an Armie leuied. For as muche as the weake beginnings of thinges, cannot sustain y<sup>e</sup> waight that is laide vpon them, but easely oppressed, & of enery accedent beate, they wil fall, & altogether go to ruin. And therefore it is nedefull to take insample by the skilfull maister of the shippe, who before he go out of the haven to enter into the sea, doth furnishe the ship, of all manner of thynges necessarye, and as much as he can possible, doth arme and decke it, & afterwardes settres him selfe to sailing. Because it is a thing reprochfull and perillous, to make a shew of mouing warre after such sort, for which by sea and by land, men are conducted, and after ward in a momēt in the preparation thereof to stay, and in the midst of the course, & also in the force it selfe, to turne (as the common sayng is) the taile, and most shamefully to retire, or els solisly to put in perill the state of al thinges, & to be of enery man mocked, not only for lightnes, but also being despised, for that y<sup>e</sup> people will repute thee of small worthines, thou shalt be esteemed subiect

to al kinde of injury. After which will follow y<sup>e</sup> thy enemyes (albeit they haue not suffred any harme, thou minding to haue hurt theym, but hauing not bene able, both for vilenes, and for lacke of wisdom) will beare vnto thee, cruell and mortall hatred.

*Of conducting forth the Army*

**H**aving first purged euery publike blot & faulte, and made cleane euery priuat error & viciousnes, & such purgation of sinnes being done with prayers and sacrifices, as by way of religiō the holy law hath commaunded, or as it is ordeined of the priests themselves, the army may then be conducted out, which all ayes must be led in battel ray, although it haue not as yet to come to the hands with the enemies: & in like manner when it hath occasion to passe through Countreys which are of length many daies tozney, albeit that they be quiet and peaseable. For as much as, after this sorte, the souldiers will accustomethemselues to obserue the array, & specially every man will learne to stand in his place, & to follow the leaders & Captaynes. The which thing  
much



much moze carefully must be obserued  
when it shall be necessarye to marche  
through the dominions of the enemy-  
es, to the end that by sodaine assaults,  
thy souldiers be not constrained at e-  
uery step, to rise in a rumor, and confu-  
sedlye to run here and there, & the one  
to go contrary to the other and finally  
coming about thee, in diuers maners,  
not to be able to do any thing of anye  
profite. For which cause, though eue-  
ry place, thou oughtest to marche with  
the army in battaille ray, whereby the  
souldiers may be made moze apt and  
spedy to make a voyage, & quicke & re-  
dy to resist if nede shalbe: they hauing  
learned to folow þ ansignes, to attend  
to comādemēts, & to behaue theselves  
balliantly, according to theyr place &  
order. If thou lead thy army by suche  
places, thou oughtest to bying the close  
together, & retire them in litle space,  
so that by the straightnes, & by þ faci-  
lite of inlarging, thou be not constrai-  
ned to extende thy selfe into too much  
length. Which fault of marching se-  
mes to geue power to the ennemye, to  
assault comodiously their aduersaries  
& according to the occasiō to hurt the,  
be knowing. to be taken frō them the  
commoditie to defend their selues.

Forasmuch as, either with more large  
 order, coming against thee, the which  
 is wont to hapen (both the hoznes be-  
 ing compassed) it is like that he shall  
 easily disorder thee, & put thee to flight:  
 or els geuing þ charge on þ flank, in þ  
 midst of þ squadꝝ, hauig already broke  
 þ order, suddenly stop thy men from be-  
 ing able to go forward, being closed in  
 the arays of theyꝝ enemies. Wherefore  
 minding to retire into a main battel,  
 & to turne to resist, they shall be able to  
 do little good, as those that haue vsed  
 such a maine battel, which for hauing  
 not any thickenes, is nothing strong,  
 but rather altogether weake. Finally  
 if the enemy geue the assault behinde  
 on þ last bande, thou shalt be brought  
 to the very same necessitie, after such  
 sort, that not onely it shall be seen that  
 he may be able to take awaye the po-  
 wer to resist, but also be able to geue  
 thee most manifest ouerthrowe. But  
 if thou turning backward, haue sto-  
 mach to fight, thou shalt be oppressed  
 of the selfe same difficulty, whiche we  
 shewed, might be impedimēt to them  
 that be placed in the front, for as mu-  
 che as thou mayst be suddenly compassed  
 about and taken. Moreover, it is wont  
 to happen whilist the thing goeth not  
 euen,

even, that thou canst not easelye geue succoure to that part of thy men which are beaten and wery. For as much as if thou call the first, to succoure the last, or els contrariwise cal the last to geue helpe to them that be in the fronte, it semes that the same, vncomodiously, & to late, may be brought to effect, hauing nede both to these, and to those, to run vp and downe by a long space, and distaunce of ground. For the whiche thing, it is alwayes better, and more sure, and more easie to gouerne the bandes that march close & square, then thin and long: (especially for as much as, to an armie that marcheth with the bandes long, often times is wont to happen, that of something seeme doubtful & vncertaine, there groweth sodenly feare and terror). Because sometime it hath chaused, y men decending from high places & hilly, in the plain, to places expedit & open, & the for most seing the last of the selfe same band, by a very great distace to come after, supposing them selues to be assaulted of some ambulche of enemies, it hath ben sene that they haue sodenly turned to faight, and afterwarde: no other wise then as with enemies, haue with these owne fellows gone together by the

ares. The victualles, the carriages,  
 & al the remnant of prouision of thin-  
 strumetes of war, I iudge should be  
 placed in the midst of the army: except  
 the places that are left behinde, be so  
 safe, that without daunger such thin-  
 ges may be caried and conducted af-  
 ter the army: but if it shall be other-  
 wise, the hindemost part wold be gar-  
 ded & defended of the most balliant sol-  
 diers, as also is to be don in y<sup>e</sup> formost  
 because y<sup>e</sup> vnwares may happē many  
 thinges. Likewise there ought to be  
 sent afore, certain men on horsebacke,  
 y<sup>e</sup> which should go inuestigating, & spi-  
 ing where they may passe, inespeci-  
 ally hauing occasion to make voyages  
 by mountains, by woods, by places in-  
 closed w<sup>th</sup> hills, & by most great deserts.  
 Because that many tymes, y<sup>e</sup> enemye  
 hauing opartunity to laye an ambush  
 priuily by y<sup>e</sup> passage, & to assault his ad-  
 uersaries, which litle therof toke hede  
 hath easily broken & altogether ruina-  
 ted them. The which ambushes if our  
 Captaine by way of explorators shall  
 foresee, with a litle paine hauing pre-  
 uented y<sup>e</sup> counceyl of the enemy, he may  
 attain a most great name of prudence  
 and likewise saue his army. But the o-  
 pen plaines, which because they may  
 be

be esely sene without sending afoze any spy, thou with thine own eyes, may take hede. For as much as in the day, dust moued and lifted vp in the ayre, doeth shewe the stirring of ennemies, and in the night, the fires & the flame, signifieth their campe to be neare.

When thy men are to be conducted to make a voyage, & not so, to saight, thou oughtest to remoue by day, if peradventure some thing do not constrain thee, for the which thou thinkest good to go in hast, to come befoze thenemy, where in dede so, such occasion, thou maiest remoue by night, so that thou know, that safelye it may be done.

When thou comest in place where thou art constrained straight way to come to the handes with thy enemy, and to saight, lead thy men not in haste, but softly, & inforce them not to make to long a sojney: forasmuche as, labour taken befoze men come to saight, is sene most often times, vainely to consume the force and strengthe of their bodies. But yf thou muste marche wpth thy menne in the Countrey of thy frendes, it is nedefull that thou commaund thy souldiers, that in no manner of wyse, they touche or marre any thing, but rather altogether to re-  
fraine:

frayne: consydering that Souldiers  
 trustyng in their weapons, & hauing  
 liberty to do what shall please them,  
 wyll fauour nothyng; Inespectally fo2  
 that the sighte of thinges that please  
 men, out of doubt are wont most dan-  
 gerously to leade ignorant, and un-  
 wareful men, to desyre them, and with  
 the sweetenesse of robbing, to entice  
 them to do al maner of mischief.

Whereunto yf thou proudest not,  
 thy frendes and confederates, fo2 eue-  
 ry smal occasion will become enemies.  
 Notwithstandyng, the country of thy  
 aduersaries, thou shalt suffer thy soul-  
 diers opely to ruinate, destroy, burne,  
 and consume, because by the dearth of  
 victualles, and lack of money, warres  
 are wonte to diminish, and to be ex-  
 tinguished: and contrariwise, thzough  
 abundance and riches, they are nou-  
 rished and maintained.

But firste befoze thou sufferest thy  
 enemies countrie to be destroyed, thou  
 shouldest geue aduise to thy enemies,  
 thzearning them; what thou wilt do,  
 yf they will not yelde vnto thee: fo2  
 that the perill of the misery prepared,  
 and the feare of the ruine looked fo2, of-  
 ten tymes constraines men to graunt  
 many thinges, the whiche at the first,  
 by

by no maner of meane had bene possible to haue brought them to do.

But after that they haue once receyued the hurte, they will make litle accompte of thee, and despyse al other thynges, as though thou couldest doe them no moze harme.

Albest, if thou knowest surely, that in the countrey of thy ennemies, thou must tary lōg with thy army, suffer to be taken, & spoiled only those things, which thou seeest not to be greatly profitable vnto thee: but the same which is to be thought, may be preserved for thy commodity, committing openly vnto thy souldiers, that they forbear.

Hauing made readye, and sette in order thy men, tarrye not long in thy owne countrey, nor yet in the same of thy considerates: lest that consuming al thy prouision, it seme not that thou be of greater hurt to thy frendes, then to thy ennemies: but rather conduce quickly thine army, into the aduersaries countrey, wherby if it be fertile & abundant, there may be taken at thy nede, most plenteously those thinges that thou list. But if it be otherwise, thou shalt cause to be knowen, that thou seekest to prouyde most louingly, both for the wealth & profit of thy frendes.

And

And where the Countrey of the enemies is fertile, and abountaunt, there may be taken thereof much commoditie, and great profite.

Besides this, thou oughtest to care w<sup>th</sup> all diligence, that in thy campe, both by Sea, and Land, victuall maye be safelye broughte, for as muche as by suche meanes, the Marchauntes will endeavour w<sup>th</sup> all diligence, to bring all those thinges, which for the vse of an Army shalbe necessarye.

Moreover, when thou must passe throughe straight places, or muste cause the Armye to marche throughe rough and hilly wayes, then it is conuenient principallye for the preservation of thy thinges, to send before some to take and keepe the highest places, the rocks, the foordes, and other enclosed wayes, to thende, leasse the enemyes goinge before thee, come not to take them, and so easelye to keepe the passage from thee. The contrarie thou oughtest to enforce thy self to do, when thou vnderstandest that thy enemye must passe through such rough, & straight places. Seeing that not only, thou hast to take heed not to receiue any harme, but also to enforce thy selfe to turne against the enemye the verye same



same deceites, whereby he thinkes to deceiue thee withal. And like as when thou purposelt to go against him, it is requisite to sollicitate the matter, to be able to be afoze him, and at vnawares to oppresse hym, euen so with all diligence, thou oughtest to provide to let him euery way, if thou vnderstandest that he entendes to come against thee.

*O flying in the field.*

**T**hy tentes being pitched in the coutry of the enemies, althoughe thou haue not delyberated longe to tarye in the same place, yet there must be out of hand made the ditches & the trench. For as muche as after this sort, thou shalt stand moze fortified. Whereby the soldaine inuasions and craftye assaultes of the enemies, maye moze safelye be withstood.

And mozeouer, thou maist chuse soldiers, to whom charge must be geuen, that night and day, they kepe watch & warde in the Campe, albeit that it be knowen that the enemye be farrc of.

But if thou be not letted of the enemyes, and purposelt longer in the  
same

same place to kepe the Campe, eyther to geue the spoile to their Countrey, or to watche a more commodious oportunitie, to take occasion to hurte them, then chuse those places where thou intendest to pitehe the campe, that it be not durty, nor through other occasiō vnholosome, so; that the nature & the situation of suche places, through the corrupt vapours, and through the stinks that they sende forth, diuers infirmities and pestilence, is wont to be induced, and ingendred: Whereby who so euer is infected, is greuously afflicted, and manye maye happen to dye, after such sort, that dying alwayes a greatesort, not only euery day the Army wil diminish, but also through the debility & melancoly which they haue, that remaine alsiue, they wil fall sick & languish beyond measure.

And therefore wholesome and profitable it is, not to kepe the armye so long in one place. Excepte it be that thou arte constrained to remayne, so; occasion to winter, and to auoyde the colde and the sharpenes of the ayre. Furthermore, most greates care is to be hadde, that the Tentes and the Pauillions, be pitched in order, after suche sorte, that thou maist be thought

thought to inhabite a place lyke vnto a litle Citie. Forasmuch as otherwyse, the euacuacions of bodyes, that long is made in one place, sende forth corrupte vapours, the contagiousnesse of whiche dispersed, cometh to infecte the ayre nere about, and lightly toucheth it, into a naughtie vnwholesome qualitie, by whiche continuall vse, and necessary custome, we take diuers and perilous infirmities.

### Of exercisynge the Souldiers.



**W**hen the Souldiers in the wynter be at home, they ought to be exercised, & with diuers masteris be made apte to sayght: so that neyther ydolencs nor sluggishnes, haue at no tyme any place. Surely the standing in ydolencs & in sluggishnes, maketh the bodie to become weake and languished, and it yeldes the mindes altogether vile and feareful. For that also the mindes of them, that be moste

Route,

floute, do therby become feble, whilſt  
they be taken by the flattery of plea-  
ſures, & of continual bliſſe of delicatnes.  
For whiche thing, menne ought not  
much to abſent them ſelues from acti-  
uilty, & from labour: Becauſe, if after  
idlenes thou wouldeſt conſtraine anye  
to labour, they wyl not go to the ſame  
very willingly, and going, they will  
not continue, as thoſe which inured w  
long ſlothfulnes, feare labour, and ſie  
euery ſafe enterpriſe, not as yet made,  
and finally if to any place, they wil go  
to attempt ſome act, ſodainly they wil  
depart, & altogether diſtruſting theſel-  
ues, cannot & will not ſuſtain labour.  
And therfoze it is the offyce of a wyſe  
Captaine, to ozdaine quietly, & cōmo-  
diouſly to make ready thoſe thinges,  
whiche he knoweth to be profitable for  
theym, whilſt he is not compelled of  
any neceſſity to ſaight, & whē it ſemes  
that they ſtand in no maner of perill,  
nor any impediment happen theym  
that maye let him to commaunde bys  
ſouldiers, to do thoſe thinges for the ex-  
erciſe of their bodies, whiche thē is not  
needefull to ſerue againſt the ennemy.  
Finally, euery thing without perill  
that is cōmitted to the ſouldiers to do,  
as the ſame that inſtructeth, teacheth &  
maketh

maketh them apt to the true maner of  
faihting, may seme to haue many cō-  
uenient dispoits, & recreations, yea & to  
them which with wearines be greued.

Souldiers be kept in exercise, in this  
maner: let some of them be chosen, & to  
euerye one be geuen the weapons, for  
suche a thing conuenient, & armed, ac-  
custometh them to keepe the order, and  
learne neuer to forsake their stowe  
place, & besides that, with taking hede  
the one to the other, & calling them of-  
ten, & with familiar practise together  
to vnite & to draw together the selues,  
after such sorte, that euery man maye  
learne & know in what place & ranke,  
euery one is placed, & to stande ready  
to obey without delay, their capitaines  
cōmaundementes. Besides this, & sol-  
diers according as they shalbe taught,  
must be instructed in knowing how to  
descend & bying together the bandes, &  
on the right hand, & on the left hande,  
to turne them. Make them learne also  
according to the order, the trāsserring  
of the squadz from place to place, & the  
moving the selues without confusiō, &  
the way to inlarge & draw together &  
rankes, & finally the going forth, & the  
returning notwe & one, now the other,

and

and the deuissions and compartiments made by the Decurians: & the maner also to ingrose the bands in largenes, & to extend them in length, & to saight, of the one side, and of the other, with battel deuided in. ii. partes, Inespectally when the last and rescuing soldiers, tounring theym about, do resist the ennemyes, who seeke to compass them. Laste of all, it is needefull, to admonyshe the souldiers, that they stande attentpue to vnderstande the signes, which by commaundement of the Captaine, shal be geuen whilest they saight: and whan the Trompette soundes to retire, that with good order they doe gather together, and a litle and a litle, withdraue them from the batraile. And verily to them, whiche beginne to indeuour theym selues to learne musicke, it is wont to chaunce, that at the firste where they shoulde set their fingers in the boles of the instrumentes of flutes, or in the stops of instrumentes with stringes, they set them cleane contrary, and vse them without arte, so that they make no Armonie: and lykewylse scant extend them, and slowly moue them. But they that by practise, exercise and reason

reason, be expert in such science, with-  
out any paine, eyther when it is nede-  
full to gyue a little oꝛ muche winde,  
oꝛ els with the finger to stop the strin-  
ges, conueniently, & woth commodi-  
tye, geue and withholde the bzeath, &  
with measure and quicknes moue the  
hande, heretofore accustomed.

The very same happenieth to theym  
that be rude, and that hath not the ex-  
perience of the seates of warre. In the  
beginning it semes that with trauaile  
and difficultie, through manye erroꝝs  
and long space of time it is befoze they  
maye be instructed and kept in battel  
raye. But so sone as they be taught  
and made perfecte, of them selues they  
will sette them to the place, vnto the  
oꝝder, & to the thing that they haue to  
do, euery one of them wonderfully in-  
spozsing them accoꝝdinge to their po-  
wer, to make a faire and in al pointes  
a well oꝝdered muster.

The Armye beinge learned and oꝝ-  
deined after this maner: I woulde de-  
uide them in two partes, & then with-  
out weapon bzing them close together  
to sayght, distributinge the light dar-  
tes, and the slyte partesans: and if par-  
aduenture there shalbe nere some plo-

wed fieldes, lette theym faight wpyth  
the cloddes of earth, and let the soul-  
diers vse harnes of Bulles lether, yf  
they may haue it. But if there were  
litle hilles oz places, somewhat rough-  
er then plaine, and lykewise pendent,  
by commaundement of the Captaine,  
let there be appointed one parte of  
souldiers, to euerye one of which, let  
there be geuen such sort of weapon as  
is mete, and geuyng theim selues to  
run, take those places: and to the con-  
trary, let there be chosen of the other,  
to whome be geuen charge, that with  
like weapons they inforce them selues  
from such places to drine away those,  
that kepe the highe grounde, and to  
enter their selues. Finally, the sayght  
finisshed, let the Captaine praise those  
the which without euer being moued,  
haue their places to them appointed,  
euen to the laste defended: oz els to  
praise them which hauing drine away  
the other, haue entred their selues.  
With this maner of faighting, final-  
ly with this emulation, and with this  
diligence, the army is conserued, and  
the bodtes of souldiers purged, and re-  
freshed after suche sort, that euery one  
of them willingly wil vse euery sorte  
of



of meates, and swetely take euerye  
drinkinge, not caringe, anye farther,  
to seeke thinges neither greatly fine,  
or delicate, nor muche exquisite. Con-  
sidering y<sup>e</sup> hunger the which comes v-  
pon men throughte the trauaile of la-  
bour, and the drinnes that cometh to  
them that throught labouring swete,  
holwe symple so etier the meate and  
drinke be, it wilbe thought to be a de-  
licate dishe, and a sweete drinkinge.  
Whereby the bodles of Souldiers be-  
come moze lusty and nimble. For that  
those which be wont to labo<sup>r</sup> in heate  
and cold in the open aire, as men glad  
and readye, do submit them selues to  
trauell, and also lustely sustayne it.

In the very same maner, shoulde be  
exercised the hoysmen. In the p<sup>r</sup>esence  
of the Capytaine to be ordeined the  
running in triall the one of the other,  
the pursuing after, the flyinge, the in-  
countringe, the charginge of their sta-  
ues, specialle in places playne and  
large, or els at the foot of hilles, as far  
as the bodles may go for the stepe and  
stony places: for in deede they ought  
not to be inforced to runne there,  
where it is to highe and pending, or  
to muche stepe and downeright.

## Of mak yng the spoyle.

**T**he spoyle ought  
 moderately to be made,  
 and it is not to be bozne  
 withall, that the Sould-  
 diers be suffered pzesum-  
 tuously to goe to ravin  
 and to spoyle: noz to lette them goe to  
 much wandering, in the Countrey of  
 the enemyes, inesppecially if it be riche  
 and aboundaunte, bycause by such ly-  
 berty, often tymes most great hurtcs  
 hath bene sene to insue. Where the e-  
 nemy findinge suche occasion, and set-  
 ting in order his people, assaulting  
 the Souldiers disordered and frag-  
 gled for the sweetenesse of the praye,  
 or els of the same laden and let-  
 ted, hath easely bene of power to put  
 them to flighte, & to breake and to op-  
 presse them, they being not able com-  
 modiously to vse their weapons, noz  
 to geue succour the one to the other.  
 For whiche thing, those that without  
 commission of the Captaine, do geue  
 them selues to spoyle dispersed, lette  
 them be punished with most greuous  
 punish-

punishment, and shamed with notable  
reproche of infamy.

But when thou determinest to send  
of thy men to get booties, thou must  
togethers with those that shal go dis-  
armed, sende also horsemen and foot-  
men expert and valiant, whom maye  
not a whit be occupied in the praye,  
but standing continually in araye, be  
alwayes ready to succor the spoylers,  
after such sort, that safely out of dan-  
ger they may returne.

And if peradventure sometime thy ene-  
mies spies happen to be taken, thou  
must not vse towardes them all, one  
maner of sentence. If thou knowe cer-  
tainly, that thy men, and all thy pre-  
paration, be lesse then the same of thy  
enemy, then commaund that straight  
way they may be killed. But if thy ar-  
mye of men be of a great multitude, &  
of weapons better furnished, and sol-  
diers moze valiaunt, and moze obedi-  
ent, and hauing leaders moze expert,  
and moze famous, then all thy Hoste  
being set in good order, and as it were  
to muster, commaunde that the spies  
be led throughe out all, and that they  
haue libertie to beholde euerye thing

diligently, and in thende, let them departe without anye maner of punishment: for that they, reporting the excellency of thy thinges, the puisaunce and greate number of people, easely will put in feare the enemies: like as the scarcitie of thinges, and dearth, is wont to bolden & to geue them hope.

*Of watch and warde by night.*



**I**n the tyme of nyght, there ought to be ordeined many watchemen: of the whiche, some must watch; and some other be apointed in places for the wardes, & the houres of the night deuided, the one after the other, may slepe & repose them selues: for as muche as the souldiers should not be constrained to make their warde watchinge, moze then that whiche nature is able to sustain, although they promise to stande in watche al the night. Where surely the sweetnes of slepe, may cause a man to forget him self against his will, and not to haue any care for his owne person, nature it selfe, consentinge

senting therunto. Therefore, let euery man stande on his feete to watche: for as muche as, sitting stretched out, doth take a waye a little and a little, the strengthe, and maketh weake and languisheth the body, wherby the slepe lightly overcomes. On the contrarie, the standinge vpight and on the fete, kepeth the minde other wise wakeful.

Those, whiche shalbe appointed to make the ward, let them go befoze the Campe, or els somewhat farther of, and make spyres after suche sorte, that they maye see those farre of, whiche peraduenture shal go in those partes, where the fier shyneth, and of whome they can not be sene, being set in dark places, and hauinge the light against them: by whiche way the enemies vnawares maye come to the handes of the watche.

*Of removing the Armye  
secretely.*



**I**f at anye tyme thou haue determined to moue the campe secretly so y the enemies shal not know

knowe it, thou hauing neede to take  
 some place, or els some of thine being  
 taken in goinge to defende the same,  
 or finallye to auoide the necessitie to  
 come to the deede of Armes, fyre  
 of all, commaunde that there be kin-  
 dled, most great fyres, and after cause  
 the armie to remoue. For asmuche as  
 the fyres beinge seene, the ennemies  
 thinkinge that thou remeaynest stil  
 in the accustomed place, wil be still  
 and quiet. But if the fyres goe oute  
 in the darknes of the night, and thou  
 make thee ready to depart, the enne-  
 mies suspecting that thou pparest to  
 fly, will vse diligence and spede, to let  
 thee the passage, & layinge Ambushes  
 accordyng to the occasion, most sharp-  
 ly will pursue thee.

*Of coming to communicacion with  
 the Captaine of the enemies.*

**I**f it happen that  
 thou muste come to com-  
 muncacyon wpth the  
 Captayne of the ennemi-  
 es hoste, and wpth hym,  
 (as oftentimes happeneth) to intreate  
 of

of some matter, thou shalt take with thee the valiantest & most noble men of thine Armye, the whiche be in the flower of their age, tall and lusty, and of goodly personage, & be also of faire and bright armour furnished. Because many times it chaunceth, that the enemy by seinge of suche men as cometh with the Captaine, hath iudged the remnaunt accordingly. And every manne shalbe sooner moued and drawn of those things that he hath sene, then of those whiche by report he hath vnderstode.

### Of Eueriges.



**I**f peraduenture, any eueriges, from the Campe of the enemies, being scaped shal come into thine, so to geue thee aduys of their power, or els of some counsell, or if they shall offer to guide thee, to thend that thou mayst assault thy enemyes at vnawares, cause that they be kept in custodie, so that they may vnderstande to haue no libertye to

to goe where they liſte: but rather let it be to them manifeſt, that if thou truſting vpon them, with thy army ſhall ſafely obtaine thy victory: they ſhall haue for their rewardes moſt great plentye of gyftes, and moſt gently being intreated, ſhall go free where they wil. But if it ſhall be perceaued that deliberately they be come to betraye thy Army with deceipt, make them know that in the ſelf ſame perill of the thing, without any doubt they ſhall haue to end their liſes. And it is not to geue credit otherwiſe to ſugetiues, but whē they know that they be not maſters of themſelues, but thou the whiche in their counſels aſſured doeſt ſee thy ſelfe, mayſt do thereafter.

*Of conſidering the campe  
of the enemies.*



**T**he Wyſe Capytaine ought with al diligence, to beſe the Campe of the enemies: not with leſſe ſorginge he



he hath to consider the situation of the same. For asmuch as, if sometime it be pitched in the plaine, in a rounde faction, we oughte not for all that to thinke, that therein be but fewe, because they are shut vp in a litle circuit of grounde, for that the circular figure, is wonte to seme lesse in beholding it, then with the minde maye be comprehended by proportioning the measure of a massiue thing. Likewise the largenes, the which is drawen in compasse, is in effect of more capacity, then anye man beholding it, is able to iudge. To the contrary, if the sides of the distaunce do extend in length, and in some place eyther crooked, or els in manye angles tourned, doeth inclose vp, you haue not for that cause to suppose, that therein be great multitude of men, seinge that suche faction of incamping, sheweth a certaine resemblance of greatnesse, and notwithstanding, doeth not containe in it so manie menne as might be within a space made circularwise. But the campos lying vppon mountaines and hils, if in al places, they be not closed & ioyned together, they may seme bigger, then yf they were in the playne,  
and

and yet contayne lesse number of men, then that whiche some man onely beholdinge may thzoughly iudge. For as muche as they do leue manye places void & forsaken: as those places be, that haue some partes ful of diches and caues, or els roughe and stonye, wherby they be desart, and of no man may be in any maner of wise inhabited. But of necessitye it hapneth that the Campes are alwaies made after such maner, and the distaunce in lyke length are extended, accozdinge to the nûber of people. Wherfoze when thou seest the Campe of the ennemies, shut vp in a litle circuite, hauing consideration of the place, and of the faction, do not esteeme it a litle, but being defended in lengthe, let it not make thee afraid: for as much as this afozesayde knowen, truste thou in the aduertismentes of war, and when occasyon serues, attempt to execute some high and honorable enterpryse.

## Of incamping.



**V**han thou muste incampe thee, it is requisite that thou bring together thy men, and in a litle space of ground to drawe theym together. If the enemies do prouoke thee, take hede not to conduct them forth, but rather most closely retayne with in the trenche thy Souldiers close together, after suche sorte, that it seme, that which thou doest, to be constrained of feare. For as much as, many times the enemy, whiche lacketh experience of thinges, considereth not the facte, with that prudence, as is convenient in the affaires of warre: but hauinge one onely time, vied the Campe, and finally esteaminge the aduersaries to be but felwe, and they for beinge afraide to refuse altogether to faight, he beginneth to make of theym litle counte, and to stand negligently, and in the end being come oute of his lodgings, and out of his fortification, goeth euery where without any hede takinge.

king, as though he that no man were able to incountre him.

Then he hauing occasion to assault the enemy in his lodgings, boldly goeth to beseege him, not considering what great number of men may issue out. For by which confidence waring proude, as though no thing contrary might happen to him, he becometh altogether slothfull and retchelesse, hauing not any manner of care of chaunces to come.

The which occasion if thou determinest prudently to take, thy men being put in order, and they in a sodaine takinge by a most great crye, thou shalt send them furthe, by the backside of the Campe, and by other diuers goyng forthes, and in sundrie maners, running on the backe of the enemy, thou mayest assaulte and saighte with him most valiantlye. And in dede, if wyth lyke policy and forcastinge, thou shalt know howe to guide thy men, lightly thou maist perceiue if thy enemy be like for to vse against thee, suche deceytes. And not only thou oughtest to knowe that which thou hast to do against the enemy, but also that there come not upon thee some contrary accident. For as much

much as, with those wayes that thou  
maist beguile thenemy, with the very  
same, thou must beware, not to be  
deceiued. For the way of vn-  
derstanding howe to be-  
guile other men, may be  
vnto thee, a  
guide  
to be able easely for to in-  
uestigate, yf they  
in thy preiudis,  
do worke any  
thing.

*How Councils are not to be  
disclosed.*

**I**f sometyne ey-  
ther daye or night, thou  
determine to remoue thy  
Arme, or take some Ci-  
tye, fortresse, or Castell,  
or els to get some passage, or for to do  
secretlye some other enterpryse with  
celeritie, that the enemies knowe not  
therof, doe not disclose to anye thy se-  
crete, nor reuele not where thou  
inten-

intendest to conduct thy men, neyther  
that whiche thou hast to doe, in spe-  
cially, if it were not peraduenture, a  
profitable thinge, the communicating  
it with some of the principals. But  
whan thou arte arriued, where thou  
knowest that it is nedefull quicklpe to  
come to the dedes, commaunde that,  
whiche every man hath to doe accor-  
dinge to the occasion, and geue order  
and withoute anye delaye of time, o-  
penlye admonyshe the conducters,  
and souldiers, and shew them to what  
ende the thinge goeth: and after ward  
with all speede, goe sozwarde with the  
enterpryse. For surelye it is a token of  
a foolyshe man, and vndiscrete, rashly  
to euery one to manifest his counsell,  
and to no purpose to disclose the secre-  
tes vnto the multitude. For as muche  
as, the euil disposed persons, and those  
that haue a naughty minde towarde  
the common weale, attende lyke occa-  
sions, whiche when they maye take,  
they fly sooenlie to the enemies, soz to  
geue suche aduise, wherby they beleue  
to attaine rewardes and honoys. For  
there hath neuer bene ante Army, but  
that out of the same, for many causes  
as well free men as seruauntes, hath  
passed

passed to the campe of the ennemies,  
specially when they vnderstande that  
some secret, or matter of importaunce  
is intreated of, or els doe knowe that  
the time aproucheth, to come to handes  
to do the feates of armes.

*How that before the armie is con-  
ducted forth, Sacrifice  
ought to be done,*



**V**erily thou ough-  
test not to conduct forth  
men, nor put them in a  
ray to faight, if firste ac-  
cordinge as custome re-  
quires, thou haue not made the sacri-  
fices: and therefore it is needefull, to  
haue the Aruspici, & the deuiners, the  
which shoulde folowe the Army. But  
it shoulde be verie well done, and a  
thing to be muche desired, if thou thy  
self couldest knowe the reason to consi-  
der the interiours, & to do the sacrifice,  
with those ceremonies, that is requi-  
site, so that thou thy selfe maye well

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and

& conveniently forsee thy thinges, in  
 especially, being able with facility to  
 haue knowledge thereof. But hauing  
 done sacrifice, if thou haue learned  
 thy desire, and shalte knowe that the  
 holye thinges be sanourable to thee,  
 with couragious mind, thou shouldest  
 goe to thenterpise. For as muche as,  
 the conuaders will geue knowledge  
 vnto the other, of all that whiche the  
 holy things declare, and wil put them  
 in good hope, and wyll geue they in  
 good courage, when they shall vnder-  
 stande, that beinge guided by the will  
 of the Gods immortall, goe to saight.  
 For the whiche opinyon, the Souldi-  
 ers altogether takinge hart, chereful-  
 ly vnto every perill, wyll put theym  
 selues, as they which haue hope to ob-  
 taine the byctozie, and al the signes, &  
 every voyce, and every thing diligent-  
 ly wyll obserue. Wherby happeneth  
 that this woorthye Coremonie of pub-  
 like sacrifices, with petitiones & bowes  
 maye maruelously comfozt, and cause  
 better hope to increase in h myndes of  
 them, which priuately moued w feare  
 of religio, be made sozowful for thinges  
 aduerse and abhominable. But if per-  
 adurn



aduenture after offering of the offe  
 thy bolwes happen not to be fulfilled,  
 and the sacrifices not to goe prosper-  
 ously: thou oughtest to remaine in  
 the selfe same place, and not to moue  
 thee, althoughe that other occasion  
 seme to constrain thee neuer so much.  
 For what thing maye happen thee  
 worse, then those that fortune, and  
 the sacrifices do shewe thee: so that if  
 that whiche is to come, might luckely  
 succede, thou shouldest by sacrificing,  
 haue had it graunted thee. For by di-  
 uine thing, causinge more offes to be  
 kylled, in the selfe same daye, thou  
 muste sacrifice them, and renewe the  
 sacrifices done: for every litle moment  
 of tyme, is of great importaunce, and  
 easely maye both hurte and helpe, ey-  
 ther taking, or altogether leauing the  
 commodious occasion of thinges.

Surely to me it seemes, that the  
 Arte of the Aruspici, by meane of the  
 beastes, and their interioris, by a cer-  
 tayne manner shewed, and reason to  
 consider, getteth knowledge, and decla-  
 reth the movings of the celestiall stars,  
 & their rising by, & their going downe

and finally the inclinations of the figures of the triangles of quadratures and of the measures. For as much as, some of their litle minytes, differēce, vertue, and way to deuine, in the very same daye, yea in the selfe same howze haue caused oftētimes, that some haue obtained kingdoms, or els being vanquished and taken, haue bene put in prison. Seeing then, that at a time it happeneth that to some, doing sacrifice, is shewed that concerning taking in hande the faight, the thing shall procede well, and yet after the faight hath folowed the conflicte and overthrow: therfore I haue thought it necessarye to speake somewhat of this matter.

*How it is nedeful to haue knowvledge of places.*



**B**eyng (as it appeareth manifestly) both many & sundry countries of the world & the situation of places, and the faction  
of

of prouinces of the land, of diuers man-  
ners, it hapneth thereby, that for the  
most part, a man may stande in doubt,  
and knowe not howe to determine  
in what places the fieldes is beste  
to be pitched, and howe to sette the  
battail to faight. Where be some sure-  
ly that haue knowledge of their owne  
countreie, but of others, they be igno-  
raunt and nothing skillful. Whereby it  
chaunceth, that the enemies being di-  
staunt, the space of a dayes iourney,  
and craftely faining to be afraide, and  
not to haue stomacke to abyde the co-  
ming of the aduersaries, and making  
as though they would fly, causeth the  
captayn little expert of things, to pur-  
sue him no other wise but as if he fled  
in good earnest, & more boldly to mo-  
leste & follow him in chase. But when he  
hauinge bene drawen through the fu-  
rie of pursuinge, and by vaine hope to  
opprelle the enemy, doth see him selfe  
to be brought to difficulte passages,  
and into places inclosed with moun-  
taines, surely in the ende, he percei-  
ueth too late, to be compassed aboute  
with enemies on euery side, and as it  
were shut vp in a Cage, the highest  
places, the straighes, and the wayes,

wherby myght haue been some passage to flye being now possessed of the enemy. When beholding all aboute howe he hath been mocked, and seeing all his armie dispersed to be by the aduersary assaulted, doth know hym self to be brought headling into extreme confusion, being by the propertie of the place deprived for being able to saighe or to withstande. And for to auoyde the shame of yeldinge, esteemeth to bee better, and a more worthy thyng to dye of famine: or els being constrained to submit him selfe, geueth libertie vnto the enemies, to doe by hym whatsoeuer shalbe their pleasure. For whiche thing, the retiring that the enemy maketh whiche hath resemblace of flying, is alwayes to be had in suspicion. For it ought not boldly to be folowed, but rather regarde should be first had to the places, and their nature diligently considered.

Therefore in conducting forth the men of Armes, it is specially to be considered, that by the selfe same waye, that thou enterest, the passage maye be open for thee to returne, or els to leaue of to enter, if thy returne may be letted, or being entred to vse meanes to bee able

able to come forth. Whiche maye be done in this maner: if the most infinit and broken places and wayes in the toppes of the mountaynes, be kepte with thy soldiers, wherby the passage whylest the returne shalbe neadefull, maye be open to thee. These thinges be sayde, not onely to thintent that thou of counsell may excell the enemy: but also, that with all diligence thou mayest seeke and sosee, not to be at unawares of him oppressed. For as muche as a sayre thing it is, to knowe with pollicie how to oppresse the enemy, but it is good and necessary to be ware of being decciued by him.

**C**Hovve no litle accoumpte is to be made of him that hath brought aduises.



**N**O so ener that shall require to come to speake w thee, to geue aduise of some thyng, whether he bee free or bonde, commynge by day or night, let him be getly receiued

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and

and not only be brought into thy pa-  
 nilion: but also if peradventure in the  
 voyage he shall come to mete with  
 the, or in what so euer maner whether  
 it be either in time when thou takest  
 rest, or eatest or wasthest, let his com-  
 ming neuer be prohibited. For as mu-  
 che as, in like matters, the delaying, &  
 taking away the commoditie of men  
 for coming to speake with thee, or  
 hauing seruantes to whom is lawe-  
 full to let them, whiche woulde come  
 to speake with thee, is no other, but  
 to leaue the occasion of mosse greatest  
 importaunce, and is likewise losse of  
 time, whiche is dearest aboue al other  
 thinges: and finallye by suche negly-  
 gence to no purpose, to put thy thin-  
 ges in ruine. For vndoubtedly, where  
 the Captaynes bee admonished  
 and taught by suche messengers, it  
 hath bene sene, that shortly af-  
 ter they haue ben able, to come  
 to do thinges, which haue  
 bene thought to haue  
 bene of most great  
 helpe to the  
 whole  
 state.

Of the time vvhhen the Souldiers  
ought to eate their  
meate.



**I**f peraduenture  
thou must needes lodge  
thy menne ouer against  
the campe of thenemies,  
giue order, that the soul-  
diers in the breake of day, do eat their  
meate. For as mache as, if thou per-  
ceiue that it is in thy libertie, to be a-  
ble as shal please thee, and when thou  
list, to put theym in araye, and brynge  
them to saight, then accoꝝding as shal  
be most commodious for thee, thou  
mayest commaund euery manne, that  
they eate meate. But if thou happen  
to be bzought to suche extremity, that  
eyther thzonghe the situacion of the  
place, or thzough the weakenes of the  
trenches and ditches, or els for some o-  
ther cause, wherby it lieth in adbetri-  
ment of the enemies to inforce thee to  
ysue forth of thy fortificatiōs, & to thy  
losse to bring out thy bands, & to dꝛiue  
thee both to take thee to thy weapons  
and

and to faight. Surely it is a thing not litle to be regarded : but all diligence is to be vsed , that a signe , beinge geuen in the breake of daye , the souldiours doe with meate comforte their strengthe, leste that being peraduenture assaulted, they be not constrained to arme them selues and to faight fasting. For the souldiours vndoubtedly being refreshed with a litle meate , & not thereby full satisfied and filde , become in sayghte, bothe more lustier , & muche stronger. Of the whiche thing, making no coumpt, hath happened often times , that vnfortunatly menne through famin, and lacke of meate being cleane without strength, haue ben overcome : and speciallly when they come to the battaille that is no lyghte skirmishe, but that continuethe a whole daye.

### **O**f comforting the Armie.



**F**at a time some malincoly happē to growe as is wonte to chaunce through some feare that appeareth to haue occupied



plied the mindes of souldiours, or els  
through some socours come to the ene-  
mies, or through some other cause  
where by the power of the aduersaries  
might be thought superiour to theirs,  
then specially to a Captaine it is re-  
quisit, to shewe him selfe cherefull, &  
pleasant. Considering that the counti-  
nance & loke of the Captaine, is wont  
to make the mindes of the souldiours  
confortable, for that altogether with  
his semblaunce, they are moued. Be-  
cause he bring cherefull, sodainly the  
souldiours take a good harte, iudging  
that nothing contrary nor perillous,  
maye fortune. So contrariwise, if it  
seeme that he be afraide or sad, all by  
and by lacke harte, no otherwise, then  
if there appeared some great ruine at  
hande. Wherefore surely it is better, &  
both more agree with the wisdom of a  
Captaine, with the semblaunce of the  
face, to sayne cherefulnesse vnto men,  
and with his merines, to make them  
glad, then with wordes and orations  
to comforte them, whylest they be af-  
flicted with malincoly. For as muche  
as vnto wordes, often tymes they doe  
not geue credite.

Which

whiche accordinge as the condition of  
 the time requireth, maye moſte ſtud-  
 ouſly be ſayned: but every man ſpecial-  
 ly beholdeth the countenance, and the  
 boldnes that appeareth in the face, &  
 eſteeming that there is no ſaynednes,  
 al feare ſet aſide, they aſſure them ſel-  
 ties in their minde. And out of doubt  
 in a Captaine, it is to be deſired to  
 haue the one and the other, that is to  
 know, when neede is, to uſe to good  
 purpoſe the facultye of ſpeache,  
 and to ſhewe himſelfe ſuch  
 a manne, as the tyme,  
 and occaſion ſee-  
 mes to re-  
 quire.

*When it is meete to put  
 the armie in feare and  
 terrour.*



**I**ke as it away-  
 leth much with wordes  
 and with chereful looke  
 to gyue courage, and to  
 fill with hope, the army  
 in

in which is entred some fearfulness, e-  
ne so it is not of smal vtility, at a time  
to put them in feare, when they be ge-  
uen to idelnes and slouthfulness, litle  
esteeminge the Generall Captaine,  
and the other Captaines, rendryng  
not obedience. Therfore then, with  
remembryng of perilles, and making  
also mention of the diligence of the e-  
nemies, it is fit to kepe them in feare,  
wherby thou shalt make thy souldiers  
not fearefull, but warefull. And like  
as the sicke minde afflicted with ma-  
lincolie, is to be releued and holpen,  
with putting the same in good hope,  
euen so lasiuous menne, throughe  
slouth vnrulye, ought with terror to  
be retrained and chastised. By which  
meane oftentimes chaunceth, that the  
Cowardes and Dastardes, setting a-  
side feare, become valiant, & contrary  
wyse, the bolde and couragious, is  
made prudent and politike. And  
bothe the one and the other, of these  
two thynges may happen, eyther that  
thy souldiers, after such sort doe feare  
the enemies that they haue no stomack  
to take in hand to do any thing, or els  
to despise the so, & passe so litle of them  
that they thinke not that they should  
take

take anye heede. And therfoze to eue  
 rye one of these two thynges, thou  
 oughtest circumspealpe to frame thy  
 selfe, and to haue regarde to the af-  
 faires, and to the times, so that when  
 neede shall require, bothe with woordes  
 and with looke, to shew thy selfe  
 to haue feare, and to forsee that  
 whiche is to come: or els to  
 seme bolde and hardye,  
 when thou shalt  
 know the same  
 to be lyke to  
 helpe thee.

*Howe Souldiers maye be incou-  
 raged vvith prisoners of the  
 enemies.*



**A** litle before that  
 they come to the pointe  
 to faighte, inespéciallye  
 when the vncertaine end  
 of the day of battail that  
 is to be made, causeth the  
 Souldi-

Souldiers to be doubtfull and full of  
thoughtes, all diligence and policy is  
to be vsed, eyther with sudden assaul-  
tes, or with ambushes; or elles with  
some light skirmishe, to take some of  
the ennemies, of theym chiefelie, that  
haue leste their places, appointed to  
the warde, which vse somewhat abrode  
in the fieldes to straggle, who, if  
thou shalt perceaue to be lusty & bold,  
cause them to be put to death by and  
by, or els geue them bounde in custo-  
dy to those that haue the charge of pri-  
soners, that they be diligently kept, &  
commaund that no man be suffered to  
go to speake with them. But if thou  
know that they be afraid, and altoge-  
ther vyle, geue commaundement then  
that quickly they may be brought vn-  
to thy lodging, and looking on theim  
scoznesfully, and with seuer and trou-  
bled countenance, and also with thzet-  
ninges, after such sorte to bring them  
moze in feare, and to make theym  
humbly to besech thee with wepyng,  
and for doubt of their liues to be good  
vnto them, thou shalt cause them to be  
brought in the sight of thy Army, and  
shalt

shalt speak vnto thy Souldiers, shew-  
 yng them howe simple, vyle, fearfull,  
 and of no worthynes the enemies be  
 with whom they haue to faight, as  
 these whiche feare so muche the stroke  
 of death, and so muche distrust them  
 selues, that fallynge downe on their  
 knees, with so muche vylenes, and so  
 shamefully do pray to aboide the peril  
 thereof, and to aske mercy of their ad-  
 uersaries. Therfoze a most likly thing  
 it is, that therby, the Souldiers will  
 take hart, and of the vituperous specta-  
 cle of such made prisoners, will iudge  
 of the vilenes, and delicatenes of the  
 enemies. And surely, if a manne who  
 hath not as yet sene, doeth not with-  
 standing hope, how much moze ought  
 he to be moued by the thinge in-  
 dede, and with the recompence  
 of hope, whereby light-  
 nye is taken awaye  
 feare and diffi-  
 cultye.

Howe

How men ought to be set  
in araye.

**B**eing many and  
sundry waies of ordering  
me in battel ray, which  
chauseth throughth varietie  
of weapons, and after  
the maner as the Souldiers are  
taught and accustomed, and according  
to the situation of the place, and the  
qualitie of the enemies: it is needefull  
that the Captaine haue such knowe-  
ledge, that he maye vse euerye one of  
them, when occasion shall require.  
But I will briefely declare those  
thinges, that maye be conuenient to  
the diuers sortes of weapons, at the  
pitchynge of the fielde, besides those  
thynges that maye be founde in the  
same necessitie of time.

Ordaine then thy horsemen, not ac-  
cording to thy desire, but as the time  
and the condicion of things shal con-  
strain thee. Thou shalt put in aray thy  
horsemen against those of thy enemi-  
es: but as muche as maye be possible,  
set them in faction as they are wonte

to ordeine þ battailes with. ii. hoynes,  
 so that both on the fronte, and on the  
 sides, by the commobity of the largen-  
 nes of the place, they maye moze spe-  
 dely ride and manege their hozses, and  
 not to put other behinde theym, that  
 maye let them. In the mayne battaile  
 place among the firste, the Melitic, the  
 whozlers of darts, and the crosbowes:  
 finally the shooters in longe bowes,  
 and the slingers. For that if such kind  
 of menne shoulde be placed hynder-  
 most, they shoulde hurt moze their fel-  
 lowes, then any of thenemies. And yf  
 they be placed in the middell, their  
 maner of falgthing shoulde bee to no  
 purpose, for that they can not retire  
 backward for the lengthe of theyr  
 dartes and of their shotte, nor yet can  
 not with their bodies moue them sel-  
 ues to whole, beyng let of them that  
 go before. And muche lesse the sling-  
 ers can wylde their slinges or thow-  
 being hindered of the souldiers that  
 stande aboute them, in the which, the  
 swing of þ sling hurting men, shalbe  
 of moze damage to their felowes then  
 to þ aduersaries. Likewise the shooters  
 if they shal be before the other, they  
 wil hit almost in one marke, directly  
 in



in the bodies of the enemies; but if they stande in the last ranke, or in the midst, they shalbe constrained to shoot aloft: in the which maner, the arrowes flying compasse, their violence muste nedes consume in vaine: and while they fall downe, vppon the heades of the enemyes, the blowe hauing nowe lost hys force, can scarce do any maner of harme.

If it happen that thou must saygbt, in places where one partte is plains and lowe, and the other by meane of hille hilles, bygher then the playne, then speciallly place thy Souldiers, that are lyghte armed, on the most rough and hyllye ground. But yf thou be in the playne, and the enemye on the hilles, conduct the lyght armed Souldiers, as they whiche most easely canne throwe their dartes, and retire them selues, and in runnyng apase & spedillye go vppe in the roughe and stepe places, leauing in anye wyse betwene the bandes some distaunce: so that if peraduenture the enemyes ahyding to incounter thee, and to come to the saight, when thy Souldyers haue nowe throwen their dartes, and consumed al their other kynde of shot,

f. ii.

turnyng

tourninge backe those bandes wyth  
 order, and withoute disturbance,  
 cause that they may retire theym sel-  
 ues for succour in the hindermost par-  
 tes of the Army. For vndoubtedlye,  
 to go aboute with the Armye, and to  
 turne it vpon a corner, is a thing that  
 by no manner of meanes is sure. For as  
 muche as the enemies, may go before  
 them, and before they be toynd wyth  
 the other part of the armye, by force  
 maye bryeake them. Contrariwise, the  
 passing straightlye betwene the ban-  
 des closed together, being thicke, and  
 as it were to fall vpon the weapons,  
 may cause confusion, and put in dis-  
 order the rankes. But if the Artillery  
 assaulte the ennemyes by a wyng,  
 they maye then doe exceeding great  
 harme, as those that maye ouer-  
 twhart whoyle, and throw their dar-  
 tes, and consequentlye hurt the naked  
 partes of the enemies. Finally, the  
 slinges be more perissus, then al the  
 weapons that the Artillery are wont to  
 occupye. For that the colour of lead  
 is like the colour of the aire, whereby  
 wherest suche bullettes of leade flie in  
 the ayre, it is not sene before it wound-  
 eth

detb the enemy at a sudden: & through  
the force of the whirle, and swinge, &  
violent mouinge thereof, as it were  
burninge, and fired, doth wound gre-  
uouslye, and penetrateth inwardlye,  
noz it cannot be deserved: for the lips  
of the wounde sodainly closeth, as one  
whiche making a signe with his eyes,  
shutteth them not fully.

But if thou lacke suche sort of wea-  
pon, and the aides of Melitie, and that  
the enemy be abundantlye furnished  
of them, commaund that the foremost  
of thy battaile, goe forward thicke  
and close together, bearing great shiel-  
des, with whiche, they maye couer all  
their bodies, and the other that follow  
after them in aray, euen to the laste,  
holding by their targettes, over their  
heades, muste passe so muche forward  
after this sort, tyll they come within  
the whorle of the dartes. For as much  
as, beinge couered after this maner,  
they can not be hurte in anye part by  
the shotte. But if the one and the o-  
ther army haue plenty of Melitie: then  
cause thynne to be the firste, to hurt the  
enemy, before they come nere to the  
handes, or els after the battaile is be-  
gon, geuinge the assaulte ouerwart

to do then what they can to hurte the enemyes, the which shalbe inforced to pzele together, and to bring them selues into a litle space, and molested of the weapons who:de from farre of, shalbe constrained to disorder theym selues.

If thou wylt auoyde that the enemyes compasse thee not aboute, make not thy ranks longe, after such sorte, that altogether they become weake, that the enemye maye easily bzeake theym, and thereby attayne the passage, and that he neede not soozther to secke longer waye to gette to compasse thee, so; as muche as, waye beyng geuen, and the order of thyne broken, he maye geue the charge vppon thy mennes backs, the which not only thou hast to take heed of, that it chaunce thee not, but thou oughtest to vse meanes to do the lyke agaynst the enemy.

If sometyme thou seest the order of thy men to be weake, do not retire nor drawe them together, after such sorte, that the enemy maye compasse them, and shutte theym vppe rounde about,  
onely

onely it is nedefull for thee, to main-  
 tayne strong the hyndermoste par-  
 tes, no lesse, then those that sytte  
 be placed in the heade, or in the sydes.  
 For as muche as the last and the res-  
 cuyng souldiers, may stoppe the ene-  
 myes suche waye, lyke as also maye  
 they, whyche stande in the winges,  
 and in the hoznes, so that thou be at-  
 tentiue to forsee for thynges to come,  
 and enlargyng the hyndermoste parte  
 of the battayle, and descendyng bothe  
 the flankes, sette thy souldyers tur-  
 ned agaynst the battaile of the enne-  
 myes, and commaunde those that  
 nowle of the ennemyes bee compassed  
 aboute, that they tourne theyr bac-  
 kes, to the backes of them whyche go  
 befoze them, and so to faight on euery  
 syde.

It appertayneth to a circumspecte  
 and prudent Captayne, when he shall  
 knowe to haue to fayght wyth a fewe  
 menne agaynst a greate multytude,  
 to vse eyther dyligence to chuse su-  
 che fyttle places, whyche bee ey-  
 ther neare Rockes or Ryuers, or  
 elles vnder Mountaynes, and vpon  
 F.iiii. all

all other thinges, where thou mayste put in aray thy battailes, and by the qualitis of the place, be able to let the ennemies, that they neither compasse thee about, nor inclose thee. For as muche as a felwe, the whiche haue to occupy the highe and craggy places, maye easely withstande the power of the enemies, that shoulde with multitude attempt to compasse thee. In the whiche thing, it is not only nedefull the counceyl and prudence of the Capitaine, but it requireth a greate deale moze good fortune. Because that often times peradventure chaunceth, that an Army happeneth vpon suche fitte places, and notwithstanding the capitaine is ignorant how to chuse what situation of grounde is best for him. But of those that are present to chuse the best, and to foresee whiche to him is lykeliest to be most profitable, is surely a signe of a wise Capitaine.

Some of a custome when they go to fyghte, trusting to the great number of men: haue set them in araye after the maner of a half circull, supposyng to be able to intise the enemies after such sort, as though they shoulde come to fyght man for manne, in the whiche

the maner mouing them selues, they  
thinke by a litle and a litle bending  
the corners of the halfe circle of their  
battel, ioyning them together in a cir-  
cle, to inclose in the same their aduer-  
saries. Against whome, it is not mete  
to goe with like facion of battaile: but  
deuiding thy men in thre partes, with  
the two, the charge may be geuen vp-  
pon the one and the other wing of the  
ennemies: the thirde thou shalt set a-  
gainst the halfe circle, whiche stande  
still, and go not forward, and if the en-  
emies will stand still in the facion of a  
semicircle: those inspecially that are  
in the midst, shall do no harme: where  
indeede is taken from them all way to  
be able to doe any thing. But if they  
begin to moue, whilst they would fro  
the bottome of the halfe circle, reduce  
them selues by right line, pressing the  
one the other, they shall breake theyr  
aray. For as much as, standing still,  
the order of them, that be placed by  
the flankes bowed like a bozne, and  
they fighting, the halfe circle by no  
manner of waye maye be reduced in  
righte order. The aray then broken,  
and mouing theym selues, from the  
halfe Circle confusedlye, thou ough-  
test

test with that thynde part, to assaulte  
them so disordered. But if the enemies  
stand still in the semicircle, set against  
them, lyght armed Houldiours, and  
also whozlers of Dartes, whiche may  
opresse them with multitude of darts,  
and with other weapons that may be  
shotte or whozled from farre of. All be  
it, if with all these force of bothe thy  
bandes thou assaulte the enemies on  
the syde, and so go againste this order  
of halfe circle, thou doest not erre thee  
in one whitt. For as much as they be-  
ing not able to come to sayght against  
thee with all their men, wyl deuyde  
them selues, and only they that were  
sette on the sydes, shalbe constrained  
to be the first to come to the saighte,  
for consideration of the assault, which  
thy men haue gyue them on the sides.  
But peraduenture it wyl not bee a  
thyng of litle vtilitie, that some tyme  
putting first men in araye, no other  
wyle then if thou wouldest sayghte,  
and after as it were for feare retiring  
backe and keeping the raye, thou sayns  
a retire like to a running awaye, and  
then turning thee to come to affronte  
those which folowe thee. For as much



as some tyme, the enemies thinkinge  
that the armie of the aduersaries for  
feare he put in flight, through vnme-  
surable gladnes, breaking their order  
will geue the onset, & euery man will  
strive and inforce him selfe to get be-  
foze his felow. Against whome by that  
meanes, thou mayest saight without  
peril, and through the boldenes of thy  
saying, contrary to the opinion of the  
enemies, thou maiest easely discomfite  
them, now being become fearefull, &  
schattered here & there, although they  
had befoze so proudly persued thee.

Besides all this, there would be in  
a readines certaine shouldours elec-  
ted, which standing in aray out of the  
battell as Triarii, should geue succor  
to that parte of thine, whiche are we-  
rye and repulsed, and of whome when  
nede requires, thou maiest easely haue  
helpe. Considering that it is the grea-  
test ayde that may be, to ioyne vnto  
wey men, those whiche are lustie, se-  
ing that they commodiously may suc-  
cour their fellows nowe wey: and  
freshe and vigozously assault strongly  
the enemies despearred and becom-  
men weake.

And

And it is not only to good purpose, but rather a thing of great benefite, if some men of thyne be apointed to lay them selues secretlye in ambushes in some place so farre of, as maye bee thought mete: to whome commaunde, whylest with thy battaill set in array, thou shalt bee comen to hande strokes, so soone as the signe is geue, that they discovering them selues, do quickly come vnto thee. Whiche then is to be done: when succor looked for, seemes not to come at a due tyme. For that the aduersaries, supposing those, to be the same men, that thou lookedst shuld haue comen in thy succour, peraduenture whylest they as yet march, before they be ready to ioyne with the rest of thy Armie, wyl be afraide & put them selues in flight, thinking them to bee no suche number, as in dede they be, but a great deale bigger, and specially if it be done at a sudden, whē they are about y<sup>e</sup> seates of Armes. For as much as suche chaunce, is wounte to make a frayde the myndes of them, whiche haue not experience of thinges, doubting lesse there happen them not some worse thing, and therefore with feare they abide the ende of the matter.

The

The assaulting the enemies behind at vnawares, bringes them in exceeding great terrour, and about all thinges is of vncredible profit. For which thing, if it were possible to do, there should be sent by nyght a bande of Souldiers, that traueling by waye, might passe beyonde the enemies, and behind them, place them selues in ambushe: And when bothe the armies were affronted, and nowe comen to the faighte, they quickely marching out of the wayte, should assaulte the hyndermoste bande of the enemies: Whom compassed about on euery side, although that there were lefte them some hope to saue them selues: they shall not haue stomacke to goe about to flye, but to yelde, as they who are not able to retire backe, nor commodiously goe forwarde, beinge of euery syde ouertaken.

Whylest the faighte continuallye doth increase, and that of neither part they beare not theym selues valiantly, thou rydinge rounde aboute, shalt controule thy men, and being on the ryght wyng: shalt crye, that the lefte is victorious, and that the enemies nowe are overcome. If thou be  
on the

on the lefte wyng, declare that the  
 bande of the ryght wyng of the men  
 hath obtained the victoꝝ, not passing  
 whether it be true oꝝ false. For that it  
 is not much amisse, noꝝ of small com-  
 moditie to vse a ly, when the sayght  
 is greatly moued. Moreover if the Ca-  
 pitain oꝝ king of the enemies, be som-  
 what farre from thee, oꝝ in the other  
 wyng, oꝝ els in the middest of the bat-  
 taile, thou must cris with a loude voi-  
 ce (so that of the enemies thou be also  
 hearde) that he is slaine. The whiche  
 being openly vnderstodde, thy menne  
 moze cherefully will double their woꝝ  
 thins to saight, and the enemies will  
 lacke hart, and also together for despera-  
 tion will put them selues to flighte.  
 This pollicie hath been often times  
 profitable, where at one time, is be-  
 giled the enemies & thine own men,  
 to these shewing things of sauegarde,  
 and to the other hurtefull and dolo-  
 rous.

Lyke wyse, it is the office of a wyse  
 Capitaine, in the arayes, to place to-  
 gether the brothers with brothers, &  
 frendes with frendes. For that why-  
 lest we see that he is brought in perill,  
 to whome we beare good will, of lone  
 infoꝝ.

inforced, fearing no manner of danger, moze ballauntly we put forward our selues to defende him. And he seeing him selfe so louingly defended, will be ashamed, and doubte, that yielding not the like kyndnes, may seeme to be negligente wpllfully, and therefore he wpll thinke it a great reproche vnto him, to forsake his frende that so redely hath done for him, & shamefully to geue hym selfe to slepe.

Of commaundementes, waunges,  
and Signes.

**T**he commaundements, waunges, and signes, ought likewise first to be geuen to the heads & leaders of mē, for as much as to go to finde every mā and cōtaund them lyke things, shuld be a manifest token of a Captaine very simple & vnerpert: seeing that whylest to every one seperatly y cōmendements are geue, time cōsumeth & great rumoz therby is made, al asking him at hand,  
and

and seekinge every one to know what the commaundementes are. Where happeneth besides this, that certaine menne to the commaundementes, wil adde some thing, or els thzough ignorance, diminishe them. Wherfoze it is meete that the commaundements, be geuen first to the heades and rulers, & after they to refer them to those that are vnder them, and those likewise to doe the same from hand to hand, to al the other. And in this manner, the signes and commaundementes maye go from one to another euen to y<sup>e</sup> last. For that not so soone as they are geuen, but also without noyse, and with order every one shall come to knowledge therof. The which likewise in geuing tokens with fire, is wonte to be obserued, where the first litle fire brande is lifted vp, the second hauing receaued the brande, geueth it to the thirde: the thirde to the fourth, which geueth it to the fiste, the fyfte to the sixt, & so forth, the one after the other, after such sort, that in short time from a most great distaunce, the signe had of the first, shall come euen to the last ordinarie and without disturbance. Likewise that signe which ought to be  
geuen

geuen the third, after the commaūde-  
ments, should not be geuen with any  
thing doone by the voyce, but either  
with lecture of bodye, or by signe  
of the head, or with mouing of the  
hande, or with striking together the  
armes, or with turning of the Spear,  
or els with glittering of the swerde:  
so that peraduenture making tumulte  
not onelye the Souldiours oughte to  
stande attentine to take the wauing,  
but also the signe. For as much as the  
enemies might vnderstande the mea-  
ning of the wauing, whiche they may  
oftentimes see to be geuen. But the  
signe whiche besides may secretly bee  
geuen, after suche sorte that it cannot  
be knowne of the enemies, semes also  
to be very conuenient and commodi-  
bus; for the straunge Souldiours to  
knowe: whome although they vse  
diuerse languages, notwithstanding  
they being confederates and seruing  
together with you: and being not a-  
ble to speake as they maye bee vnder-  
stode, nor vnderstande other, which in  
other language speake, by making sig-  
nes, the frendes by frendes, may by such  
meane deserue their meaning. The  
which signes oughte to be geuen and

distributed not at such time whē they must faight, and make noyle with vncertain voyces amidg the bandes, that are to be set in araye, but long befoze when quietly they remayn at leysure.

*Of the order that is to be obserued.*

**B**ESIDES all this commaunde thy Souldours to go sozward, and turne backward with good ozder: wherby being repulsed, and retyring, they maye be lesse hurte, as those whom the enemy one by one, can not oppresse, being not here and there scattred, and disorderlye wandering: or if they being conquerers, shall pursue the enemyes out of ozder, and put to flyghte, they shall ouerthowe them easely, & more strōgly oppresse them, and with more safegarde, if in the chase vnited together, and in araye they pzoceede. For vndoubtedly many times, when the enemy flyng, seeth his aduersaries, come vpon him without anye ozder, he bynggng agayne his menne in araye, & turning backward with standing them with violēce, cruely ouercometh them. Wherfoze men must think



thinke that nothing is better, nothing more safer, nothing more surer, then obseruing the order, to stande still in their place appointed: & to the contrary nothing is more perillous, nor more hurtfull, then to breake the order, & to forsake the same place.

*Of making ready and setting foorth the armie to faight the fielde.*

**H**ave care to bring thy Armie to the fielde with bright and shining armor. which easily may be done by cōforting the soldours to make clean their swerds, headpeses, corcelettes, & euerye other peece of Armor, for as muche as the cleanes and brightnes therof, maketh the Armie seeme terrible, and putteth feare & trauaile in the myndes of the enemies. Moreover cause thy handes to go forwarde with ramos, & sholwinges, and sometime running with violence, for as muche as the semblace of such thinges, the crynges & noyse of harnes, and the soundes of trompets, wōderfully troubleth and feareth the hartes of the aduersaries.

When thou shalt come to the point to ioyne battell with the enemy, cause thy souldiers somewhat befoze, to florish the oftē their naked swerdes against the sunne. For y the glistering swerdes and their shining poinctes, through the brightnes, now of the one, & now of the other, against the resplending beames of the sunne, both shew a certaine horrible terroz of warre. The which thing, if as well of the enemy shall likewise be doone, aunswering thee with the verpe same, thou haste cause to be afrayd: & if he doe not that, it is to be thought that thou in any wise must nedes thereby put him in dzedē. Being set in aray, & as well of the one as of the other parte, the men being made redy to saigh, thou oughtest not sodenly to moue thee, being drawen w<sup>th</sup> desire to be the first to geue the onset, but stay thee nere thy trech, till that thou seest thy self the redines of the enemies, that is how manye, of what cōdition, & finally in what place they be disposed to saight, seing that after this maner, thou mayst moze cōmodiously fozsec to thy affaires, considering which of thine thou hast to set against those of the enemy, & in what maner

maner thy men is to be placed & ordeined, doing in like sort as is cōuenient for a good Whisition to do, the which considering first, & knowing the infirmity, cometh after to giue remedies. Ordeine thy menne accorpyndyng as thou perceiuest to turne most vtilitie to thy busines. For as much as the captaine oftentimes hauing seen the preparation of thenemies, is contrayned to accomodate, & to ordein his soldiers accorpyng to the Army, the men, & maners of thē. If the enemy be moze puissant of horsemen, & that thou peraduentur haue cōmoditie, chuse þ straight and difficulte places, or at the foote of mountaines, & where the horses cānot easely go: but if thou haue not cōmoditie so to do, pzoceade so much sozward fayinghting, till thou finde places mete and conuenient for thy necessitie. But within the trenche, leaue the warde, for defence of the lodgings & of the cariages, lest that the enemy vnderstanding the place to be sozlake, sende his souldiers to take thy campe, lest without defence, & to spoile al thy cariages.

Some captaines destroy their owne lodgings, or elles passe Riuers, or deliberately do leue behinde thē hilles and depe places, to the ende that the

Souldiours standing constantly, may  
ouercom the aduersaries, & attaine the  
victorie, or otherwise altogether to pe-  
rishe. For that if they thinke to saue  
them selues by running awaye, they  
shall see that by al maner of wayes to  
be taken from them, the possibilitie to  
scape. These maner of men surely I of  
the one part can not praysle much, nor  
yet of the other parte dispraysle: for as  
muche as deliberately to purpose to  
do thinges with perill, is rather re-  
puted foolish hardines then prudence,  
and vnto fortune, there is moze to bee  
attributed then to good iudgemēt. For  
as muche as where thou arte cōstrai-  
ned to do the one of these two thinges  
either with all thy power saighting,  
to attain the victorie, or els being ouer-  
come, euery thing to goe to ruyn, in  
what maner may I the victorie vnto  
prudence, or els the ruine & vniuersall  
conflict vnto the election and to iudge-  
mēt ascribe: Yet surely, I suppose that  
sometime to some souldiers, it ought  
to be permitted that for desire of ho-  
nor & glory, perillously they may saight:  
when the case is such, that if they bea-  
ring the selues valiantly, shall get vn-  
to the cōmon weale no smal vtilitie, &  
if they

if they vnfortunatly faight, that it can not turne to much hurt. But fortune being doubtful & vncertain, & doubtful the succes of the battel, I praise not in any maner of wyse, & basarding with all thy men, in the handes of chaunce. And me thinkes they erre exceedingly which will faight after such sort, that if they shal haue ouercome, it seemeth them to haue litle hurt & enemies: but if they shalbe ouerthrowen & vanquished, to be like to be of most great hurt to the cōmon weale: and yet they leue not to vse like policies of warre. But if now it be seen plainly, and may be taken for a mosse certaine thing, that great discomfiture is like to folow, if & doe not faight, although it be with perill, & that if the enemy shal once be ouercom, he is like altogether to perish, then me thinkes, that those captaines do not amisse, which against their soul diers should stoppe the waye for being able to fle. For that in a thing vncertain, it is better with mālenes, not on ly to auoyde the mischief, but rather to seke to offend & enemy, thē to stand in idelnes, & to behaue thy selfe vyle, when thou mayst be sure, that daring to do nothing, thy busines are like altogether to go to naught.

But not only in like places, where  
flying hath no certainty of safegarde,  
but in every place, and in condicions  
of faightynge, thou oughtest to admo-  
nische thy Souldiers, and with all rea-  
son to shewe them, that to those that  
flye, doeth followe nothing but death  
manifest and certaine: because the e-  
nemics have libertye to perceuer and  
pursue them, & being not letted of a-  
nye, maye easely offende their aduer-  
saries. scattered and put in flight, and  
that to them who faighting, stand still  
and do defend, there death is doubtful  
and the perill vncertaine. And if thou  
perswadeest them, that in the battaile  
which is to be fought, those that geue  
them selues to flye, wythout faile shal  
most shamefullye perishe, and he that  
standeth stedfaste, in the ende if the  
woorst fall, shal die most gloriouflye:  
and that to them whiche forsake their  
place, and not to those whiche keepe  
araye, shal insue the hurte, thou  
shalt perceiue to haue them in the self  
same perils, both bolde and valiant.  
Wherefoze desire to haue thy Souldi-  
ers perswaded and disposed after this  
maner. For as muche as those that be  
of thys minde, and of suche affection,  
eyther

eyther they attaine the victoꝛye full  
lye, or els suffer litle harme.

Surely the Councels founde in the  
instant perill while they are a faigh-  
ting & the foꝛ casts foꝛ to put at a sud-  
den against the deuise of the enemies,  
haue without doubt to the Captaines  
and to them that well vnderstand the  
feates of warre, brought forth moꝛe  
excellent gloꝛy, & greater marvel, then  
those haue done that a man wold haue  
thought, & by coniecture supposed to  
haue bene exceeding good before that  
men come to the trial, whiche thing,  
to shew one by one, and to euery man  
to geue seuerall instructions, is verye  
difficuly. Foꝛ like as y<sup>e</sup> masters of ships  
hauing prepared & disposed by order al  
things that y<sup>e</sup> sicke of nauigation re-  
quires, after departing out of the ha-  
uen, do put themselues to the mayne  
sea: but if peradventure there happen  
to rise some tempest: they doe not that  
they desire, but the same whiche they  
are giuen to doe, and they doe manye  
thinges boldly, and beyng rounde a-  
bout ouercome with perylls, wyth  
floute mynde, they resiste with theyꝝ  
pꝛouisions, vsyng not so muche the  
memoꝛye and the science of saylyng,  
as

as the occasion, whiche vnlooked for,  
 appeareth befoze theym : Euen so the  
 Captaine must doe: Put in order his  
 men, and indenuoz theym, and dispose  
 them in that manner, which he thin-  
 keth to tourne commodious and proff  
 table to him, and to his affaires : but  
 when the tempeste ouertaketh him,  
 and the waightenes of the battayle,  
 for as much as, many thinges by force  
 is wont to chaunge and bzeake, and  
 greate varietie to fall, then according  
 to the state of thinges present, and  
 that is seene befoze the eyes, he muste  
 fynde at a sudden, according to oc-  
 casion, the forecast and counceils, more  
 rather as necessitie of fortune, then as  
 the arte and witte it selfe, shall haue  
 offred him.

*Of the Captaynes office, vvhilest  
 the battayle is a faightyng.*



**V**nto the captain  
 it is mete rather circumspectly & with wisdom,  
 then boldly to saight, or  
 to refrayne altogether  
 from the saight : Because that saigh-  
 ting



ting cannot so much benefite the common weale, although he shoulde shew force inuincible, as losing his lyfe not a litle shoulde indamage the same.

Wherefoze, he ought to be much baulianter with prudence of mynde, then with the force and lustines of bodye. For as muche as, with the worthines and strength of bodye, the Souldiers may doe some greate attempt, but the bling of prudence and to foresee thynges, and deliberating in tymes conuenient to councel the common weal, principally to the Captaine, and to no other is requisite. For that lyke as if the Mayster of a shyppe leaupng the sterne, & forsaking the gouerning, wil do those things that appertayne to the other mariners, shall without doubt geue occasion to drowne the shyp, euen so the very same errour the Captayne shoulde commit, who setting a parte his offyce of Councellyng, for prouiding euery thing, shuld defend so low to take y charge which is mete for soldiers. And surely the presumptuous negligence of y greater & superiours in dignity, maketh to become vaine all aid, wherin necessarily is commytted the conseruacion of wayghtye affaires.

The

The like I repute ought to be thought of that Captaine without anye difference, the which when he shalbe dead, the common weale to bee in basard to fall in decaye, no2 beyng not deade, no other then he ought to take thoughte for the safegard of the same. And such a one by moze reason is to be blamed as a simple captaine, then to be praysed as skoute. And surely he that hath done the duetye of a Captaine, wyth counsel, and with discretion, haupng atchived felicity, by mean of fozesight w reason he may lawfully gloze. But contrariwyse, he that is so arrogant & couetous, that beleucth not to be able to doe anye thing honorable, if he him selfe go not to faighte with the ennemye, not onelye is not to be thoughte baliant, but rather presumptuous and foolyshe hardie. And that he so dothe to get him selfe a name of the multitude, not to esteeme any peril, for to incourage his souldiers, both to make them redy & glad, to leopard them selues in an enterpryse. But let him that wil do wel, faight warely, & not scare death, & chuse sooner to remain depriued of his lyfe, then hauing any ouerthrowe, to liue with shame. But the thing

thing being safe, and the army in safe-  
gard, he ought to haue regard to his  
lyfe. For surely where the death of the  
Captayne chaunceth, there manye ty-  
mes, the reputacion of the happy suc-  
cesse is diminyshed. For as muche as,  
they, who haue vnfortunatly fought,  
hauing vnderstoode that the enemyes  
are lesse depziued of their Captayne,  
taking hearte agayne, haue assaulted  
them, & these of the other part afflic-  
ted with malincolye, haue lacked sto-  
macke, that althoughe they haue for-  
tunately fought befoze, notwithstanding  
for the death of the Captain, they  
haue then put them selues in dispaire.

Unto the captain it likewise apper-  
taineth whilest his men fight, to go  
riding about the battel, to shew hym  
selfe to the fighters, to prayse those  
which valiauntly haue behaued them  
selues, to threaten the fearful, to com-  
fort those that be doubtful & slowe, to  
geue succor to them that are repulsed,  
to supply the lackes, & if it shalbe nede-  
ful, to lead men from one place to an-  
other, to obserue tymes, to take occa-  
sions, to make coniecture of thinges to  
come, and to commaund when nede is  
that there be geuen the signe to retire

Of that vvhich is to be done  
after the deeде of  
Armes.

**A**fter that he hath  
reuoked the Souldyers  
from the faighte, let him  
do sacrifice, & geue order  
that thanks may be ren-  
dzed to the immoztall Gods, with so-  
lemne pompe, as muche as in that  
time maye be done, prompsing with  
gratefull minde, to make satisfaction  
in those thynges, so soone as the war  
is ended, and the victoꝝ obtained, ac-  
coꝝdꝝng to the conuenient custome  
of satisfysing. Afterwarde let him geue  
honours and rewardes to them, why-  
che he shall vnderstande haue behaue  
them selues valiauntlye in the dede of  
Armes, and accoꝝding to the custome,  
to be towarde them benigne, and li-  
berall. But those whiche haue bene  
slacke and fearefull, let him punnysh  
most shamefully. Vnto valiaunt men  
let him graunt those honours which  
accoꝝding to the vse of the countrie are  
allowed.

loved. The gyftes which the Cap-  
tain ought to geue, be these: armours,  
Ansignes, spoiles, the offices of Decu-  
rians, Centurians, prouostes, conduc-  
ters and other lyke officers. But to the  
most valiant, & to those that are alrea-  
dy in authoritie, there would be grea-  
ter honours distributed, and to the pri-  
uate Souldiers, to be geuen the lesse.  
Although these thinges haue bene ac-  
customed to bee geuen liberallye, and  
with gentelnes, according to the de-  
seruinges of euery man, neuerthelesse  
it both prouoke mozeouer other vnto  
vertue, whiche of lyke honours are de-  
sirous.

And without doubt, when rewards  
are geuen to the good, for their meri-  
tes, and the yll not scaping withoute  
punishment, of necessitye the armie is  
put in moste excellent good hope.

For that some for feare of pu-  
nishment, do abstaine from  
doing yll, and other some  
drawen with the de-  
sire of honoures,  
imbrace ver-  
tue.

## Of the Victorie.

**H**aving obtained  
 some victorie, thou oughtest not onely to euerie  
 souldiour particularly  
 to geue rewardes for the  
 aete well executed, but also to all the  
 Armie, thou oughtest benignely to  
 geue some generall rewarde for their  
 labours. Thou shalt graunte licence  
 to thy souldiours, to putte to sacke  
 the lodgings of the enemies, the ca-  
 riages, and the Castels, if any by rea-  
 son of warre happen to come into thy  
 possession, and finally also the citie: sa-  
 uing that if peradventure of the same  
 there should not be had moze conside-  
 ratio of deliberating some thing. For  
 that this to al such affaires, is of much  
 vtilitie, in especially, when the warre  
 is not as yet finished. Because the soul-  
 diours by such profite and gaine allu-  
 red, will shewe them selues much red-  
 dier & moze couragious in other occa-  
 sions: if thou be not of opinion that it  
 is proffitable for the hunters with  
 the bloude and interiours of the wilde  
 beastes whiche they haue kyled, to  
 teache

teach their hounds to hunt, but thinke  
it hurtful to geue in pray to the victo-  
ryous Souldiers the goods of theym  
whiche haue bene overcome.

*Of putting thynges to sacke.*

**G**Raunte not ly-  
cence to thy Souldiers  
neyther alwayes, no; in  
euery place, no; al to put  
to sacke: & permit not the  
to come to lead alway the people: who  
thou maist cause to be solde (if nede re-  
quire) for the common profite, and to  
maintain great expences. In whiche  
case, thou shouldest commaund openly  
that al the goods be brought and con-  
ueyed vnto thee: Because most excel-  
lently well, thou mayest deliberate  
thereof, hauing regarde to the time, &  
to the state of thynges, whether thou  
hast nede to retayne all the praye, or  
part of y<sup>e</sup> same, or els none at al. And  
it is not conuenient, that making war  
the common treasure be left w<sup>th</sup>out  
money, for Souldiers being depriued  
of the gaignes, which from day to day  
v. i. they

they make, especiall ye when by the abundant riches of them who are overcome, & by the fertelity of the places, the gaynes moze amply, or largelye, and with moze benignity may be distributed to them.

### Of prisoners.

**S**o longe as the warre cōtinueth, kyl not thy prisoners, and in especiall those, against whom the wat is made at the first, althoughe it happen that the confederates shall haue opiniō to cause them to be put to death. But aboue al things thou ough test not to put them to death, which about thy enemyes be of great aucthority & of fame well knowen, & notable, remembryng that fortune is vncertaine and doubtfull, and chauce variable and mutable: the whiche moste oftentimes loueth greatlye to heare enuy to the happye successes, and to minister



minister shame to glory attained. But  
 seeke to erchaunge theym; or by ren-  
 dzing them, to get some Castel, or els  
 to redemie thy frendes taken prisoners  
 whom thou desyzest greatlye to haue  
 againe, but if the ennemys shall  
 refuse such permutacion, then  
 lykewise with reason thou  
 mayest make reuen-  
 gement of their  
 injury.

*Of feastes, and triumphes,  
 after the victorie.*

**H**ungers being  
 past and overcome, and  
 wyth greate trauayles  
 hauing gotten the vic-  
 torie, lette thers be for  
 thy souldiers, made readye solempne  
 feastes, and the places with good or-  
 der to be appointed, and geue such or-  
 der, that playes & triumphes be made,  
 so that hauing now the certaine ende  
 of

of the victorie accomplished, and the  
 Souldiours knowyng those thinges,  
 whiche after the victoꝝy they haue to  
 inioye, may foꝝ suche cause, learne to  
 sustain at another tyme, the difficultie  
 of the turmoyles of warre.

*Of buryng them whiche in the bat-  
 taye haue been slayne.*



**T**hou must after  
 provide, & with great di-  
 ligence procure, that y  
 obsequies be made most  
 woꝝthyppfullye to theim  
 whiche haue been slayne in the deede  
 of Armes, noꝝ thou shouldest make ex-  
 cuse, neither of tyme noꝝ of howze, noꝝ  
 of place, noꝝ of perrill, whether thou  
 ouercome, oꝝ be ouercomed. Foꝝ that  
 like as it is a godly thing, to perfoꝝme  
 the obsequies, & according to y rhyghts  
 to doe sacrifice foꝝ the dead, euen so it  
 is very profitable foꝝ the that remaine  
 aliuie, and rather altogether necessary  
 to shewe to the lyuing, this thy pitie  
 towarde the dead. Foꝝ surely, when  
 euery man seeth the dead bodies, as it  
 were

here for outragiousnes and despite of the Captaine, not to be buried, they iudge and p̄suppose the very same of them selues, & take displeasure of such thynges, knowyng that if they saygh- ring for their countrie, happen to be killed, are lyke not to be buried.

*Of reuenging the ouerthrowe.*

**I**n sayghting, thou happen to receiue some ouerthrowe, inesse diligetly thou shouldest geue attendaunce, to find occasion to make reuengement, and to take awaye the shame receiued, hauing neede after this manner, to comfozte thy souldiers, which shalbe leste thee safe, And surely more often times, those that newly haue obtained the victory, are wont here and there to straggell negligently, and to kepe their thyngs without forecast or any warde. And he that passeth lytle on y enemy, becometh with al, clouth full and recheles. For the which thing many tymes, the happy successe of the

V. iii.

Acc,

Fate, hath been of greater harme then  
 the receiued ruin. For that whosocuer  
 hath once been beaten with contrarie  
 fortune, by the successe of the thing be-  
 ing taught and admonished of his er-  
 roz, from that tyme forwarde, more  
 warely doth gouerne him selfe. And  
 contrariwise, he that hath not made  
 prooue of aduersity, cannot by right in  
 prosperous affaires mainteyn himselfe.  
 And if he be a conqueror, as one that is  
 become proud, he passeth litle of other  
 nor useth not discrecion after suche  
 sort, that no manner of hurte be taken,  
 the which he should haue vsed for to  
 offende the vnwarefull and idell ene-  
 mies. For surely to feare where is ne-  
 defall, and where the tyme requires,  
 is token of a man, whiche wisely pro-  
 uideth for his busines. But without  
 good consideration, to belpyse & make  
 litle account of euery thyng, is  
 the signe vndoubtely of an ar-  
 rogant man, and therfore  
 such a one, becommeth  
 subiect to euery sort  
 of perill.

## Of Truce.



**I**f thou hast made truce, doe not in anye wyse all that tyme, assault the enemy, nor yet stande vnprovidid. Although towārdes hym thou shouldest be in quiet, no otherwyse then as yf thou haddest peace. But in as muche as appertayneth to thee, beware after suche maner as if thou madest warre, that there happen thee not any thing contrarie.

And vndoubtedlye, it is a convenient thyng in tyme of Truce, that thou syrst moue not agaynst the enemye, further then honestie and reasonableness, nor to stande altogether without order and disarmed, but rather shewe thy selfe to take heade, and to haue suspition of hydden hatred, and of the deceptes of the aduersaries.

Forasmuch as y mindes of the w<sup>ch</sup> whō thou

thou haste made truce, be secrete and vncertaine: for the whiche thing thou shouldest stedfastly obserue, not to doe anye iniurie, for the othe that thou haste made in the couenauntes: but for feare of vntrueth, trust not vpon the enemies, wherein declare thy selfe withall, herdefull and prudent, not breaking the agreement, and leauinge not occasion to be assaulted.

Surely those, whiche of the iniurie that peraduenture they are lyke to receiue, do remytte the reuenge to the immortall Gods, although they be of a godlye oppinion, notwithstanding me thinks, they put not their things in safegard, where it is very straunge and a foolyshe thinge, not to defende thy selfe from perilles, & to take no heed, because thou haste hope, that for their falseheade, and breakinge of faith they are to be punished, which vnmmercifully haue offended and indamaged thee, as though it were lyke to turne thee to profite and safete, so soone as the enemies shall haue suffered paine for the same, specially when with safegarde of thy thynges, it is lawfull for thee, to make pzoofe, and to come to knowledg of the impietye of the ennemyes. In whiche manner thou

thou being falselye and trayterouslye  
 assaulted, shalte not be hurte, and  
 the enemye shal shew himselfe  
 to be disleal, which hadde  
 thought to haue hurt  
 thee, if he hadde  
 bene able.

*How the Captayne shoulde be  
 haue him selfe, to cause  
 Ciues to yelde.*



**Synge** benignity  
 and gentelnes towardes  
 those Cities, whiche of  
 their owne minde, haue  
 yelded them selues vnto  
 thee, and by couenants  
 being rendred shall come into thy pos-  
 session, thou shalt thereby incline other  
 so to do. For if they intised of hope to  
 attaine the verye same that the other  
 haue, will easely yeld. And surely that  
 manne, which so soone as he hath ob-  
 tained a City, sheweth himselfe sharpe  
 and cruell, putting it to sacke, tearing  
 and cutting to peces al thinges, ge-  
 ueth occasion to other Cities, to alie-  
 nate

nate their good willes, and to take vpon them selues the warre, and the difficulte victorie. For as muche as, every man which is assured, that the conquerour is vnmerefull, and cruell towardes them whome he hath overcome, doth chuse muche rather to doe and to suffer all extremitie, then willingly to yelde. And questionles, no one thyng filleth so much the mind with valiauntnesse, as feare of the imminent perill, whiche every man knoweth to suffer when so euer they yeld. And the feare to suffer misery, is wont to put in the mindes of men great desire bothe to make resistance and to faight. And all prooffe whiche is made against desperates, is difficult and perillous. And they who yelding theym selues cannot hope to be intreated more gentlye, nor to haue vsed towardes them more benignity then as if faighting, they were overcome, much rather making resistance, will suffer all mischiefe. Wherby the vnwise and cruell Captaynes, geueth occasion that the siege of a Citie is prolonged, and some also to become vayne, and are neuer brought to good end, and be likewise dangerous and perillous.



Of keeping promise with  
Traitors



**V**nto them which  
at thy request, shall haue  
committed some treason,  
thou oughtest to obserue  
the faith and promises  
made them; not so muche for their  
cause, as for the time to come, wherby  
other maye vnderstande, that those  
whiche will folowe thy part, shalbe re-  
warded; and so the easelier they will  
be brought to suche seruices. For que-  
stionlesse he that geueth to traitours,  
may thereby receyue great benefittes:

Wherfore be ready to geue than-  
kes to such sort of men: con-  
sidering, that thou arte  
not chosen reneger

of the betraide ci-  
ty, but Captain  
of the con-  
trye.

Of  
the

Of treasons by nyght, and of vnder  
standing the course of the  
Starres.

**F**or to geue an as-  
saute, and to take occa-  
sion to oppresse the ene-  
mies by nyghte through  
treason, it is needefull,  
that y haue some knowe-  
ledge of the course, and mouinges of  
the Starres, seing that through the ig-  
norance of suche thinges, the determi-  
nation of them, which would committe  
treason, mosse oftentymes becommeth  
bayne: where the Praytour hauing  
sometime appointed with thee, the  
thyrde or the fourthe, or what so  
euer other howze thou lyke, the  
whiche he hath thought to haue been  
fytte, either to open the gate, or to kill  
some of the warde of the Citie, or fi-  
nally to oppresse at a sudden some am-  
bulche of the enemies, not knowyng  
the determinate howze, of necessitie it  
is lyke in one of these two thynges to  
committe erro, eyther goyng sooner  
then is

then is needfull, and before the Tray-  
 four hath procured the thyng, wherby  
 thou mayest be taken of the enemy, or  
 be hindred to byng to effect þ, which  
 thou hast determined vpon, or els go-  
 ing latter, then the tyme apointed,  
 giue occasion that the Traytour bee  
 caught and kylled, and so be an impe-  
 diment to thy selfe, to byng to passe  
 the thyng that þ goest about. Where-  
 fore it is requisite with iudgement, to  
 make coniecture, and diligently consi-  
 der, in what space of tyme, how many  
 boiages thou hast to make: and then  
 considering the courses of the starres,  
 thou must with thy selfe, moste dili-  
 gently remember how farre thou hast  
 gone, and howe muche there is to go:

so that thou aryue not sooner nor

later, then the hower of the

tyme appointed, and that

thou bee within the

wal, before the ene-

my vnderstande

of thy com-

ing.

Of the

Of takyng by daye, a Citie or  
Castell by treason.

**B**ut if thou must  
nedes by daye go to take  
with treason a Citie or  
Castell, whylest thou art  
a marching, sende befoze  
a parte of thy bozlemenne, to take all  
those which be founde by the waye, to  
the ende, that none stirring from the  
fielde, doe runne to the Citie, to geue  
aduyse that thy men come to assaulte  
the: but rather make that in a momēt  
at a sudden, thou be present with the  
enemy with thy armie in good araye.  
But after that suddēly, thou hast assalted  
hym, he hauing not thereof any whit  
of suspitiō, if it be not good, the thing  
to be done by treason, commaunde thy  
men to saight without further delay,  
withall force, and to goe with most  
spedy celeretie, to the intent to pzeuent  
the enemye, thou hauing occasion to  
approche eyther to a Castell or to a  
forte, or finallye to a Citie, and this  
inspecially, when thou shalt haue  
fewe

fewe men, and inferior to those of the enemy. And in dede, where the sudden bzunt and vnloked for, cometh vppon them, contrary to their opinion, it is wonte greuously to trouble the enemy, although he be of greater power. But if he seeing the men that assaulte hym, haue leasure to deliberate, taking harte agayne, he wyl then begin to passe littell, and moze boldely wyl faight: whereby it chaunceth most oftentimes, that the first salies, and the beginninges of the enterpryse, are wonte to seeme moze fearfull, then when slowly & with delay they proceede. For the which thyng, to manye it hath chaunced, that with a sudden larum, the enemy nowe astonied and made asfayd, they haue with litle labour constreyned to submit him selfe of his own mynde or els against his will, to render obedience.

As be

## Of besieging a Citie.

**I**n laying the siege to a Citie, aboue al thinges, the vertue of the captaine, is needeful, and the policies of warre like wisse is to be required, & the preparation of ordinarie. Where also ought to be foreseen and taken hede of, that those, whiche thou kepest besieged, in no place at a sudden offende thee. Because that they who see theym selues to be besieged knowe, if they shall be negligent, what greuous hurtcs, will come vppon them, for whiche cause, moze circumspectlye they take heede, and obserue by what waye, they may indamage the ennemye that besiegeth them. And surely, he that thinks to be in no peril, doth some of those thinges, which he hath determined, when it pleaseth him: but without doubt, who so euer considereth him selfe to be in daunger, seketh euerye occasion, whiche founde, inforceth him selfe to take it, & to vse it against his aduersary. wherfore he that doth besiege must fortifye

fortifie his campe with stakes, with trenches, and with watches & wardes. For as much as the enemy a far of, seeth that which he prepared, & the same whiche thou arte about to do: agaynst which, those whome thou kepest besieged, being covered of his wal, attimes issuing out at vnawares, & out of the gates running abroad, may burne all thy artifices, & engines, & oppresse thy souldiers, & ruinate whatsoever shall come to their hādes. The which thing they will not attempt to doe, if nere to the gates, as well to the great, as to the littell, where appeareth, that they may issue out of the Citie; thou haue placed for watche, some hande of thy souldiours, who maye lette such sudden sallies & incursions: otherwise, the enemies issuing out secretly, may many tymes, be able to doe lyke thinges.

Very comodious and profitable it shal turne thee, if the enterpryse which thou woldest do, shalbe done by night. And verely if the thyng bee doone by night, considering the darkenes to the which be assaulted, it is wont to seme moze terrible, for that they can not diserne, what is done. Wherby it hap

A. i.

peneth,

peneth, that the suspicion is moze gre-  
uous, and in the myndes increaseth  
greater feare, then if the thyng myght  
be seen. Whereof doth ryse, suche by-  
roares and tumultes, that there is no  
man, which is not at his wittes end.  
Yea & they will saye, that the enemy  
doth many thynges, which in dede be  
doth not, seing that for respect of the  
nyghte, it can not wel be vnderstand,  
of what part the assaulte is geue with  
the ladders, and that which is done.  
Moreouer though all the Citty, they  
will run vp and downe here and there,  
and in euery place rayse rumors and  
feare, and terrible bytters o: tales, for  
as muche as false feare, deuines of  
thynges to come, and ellesmeth it to be  
the same whiche suspicion imagineth.

And euery thyng that thou doest by  
night, although it be but litle, to them  
which thou kepest beseged, may seeme  
horrible and fearfull. For as much as  
none telleth that which he seeth: but  
euery man, particularly rehearseth  
that, whiche in the darke he hath  
hearde. And if it be vnderstande that  
of some part, one o: two of the ene-  
mies, haue got vppon the wall, then  
saying those to bee all the mynne, put-  
tyng



tyng them selues to flyghte, leaueing  
their defence, and forsaking their for-  
tifications, they will departe.

If thou wylt that speedelye some  
woozke be dispatched and doone, see  
thou be the fyrst to put to thy hande to  
the same woozke. Because the multi-  
tude, not so much with thrednynges,  
is inforced to do that which thou wol-  
dest, as they are moued by shame, and  
of the reuerence of their superiours.  
And vndoubtedly when euery manne  
shall see the Captayne befoze any o-  
ther, putte his hande, to the worke,  
and to trauayle hym selfe therein, then  
they know the thyng to haue neede of  
spedenes, and they be ashamed not to  
labour, and feare to dyaue backward,  
and no we not as seruantes and soul-  
diers subiect to the commaundemet of  
other, and of an ill wyl, but dyuen of  
shame, they wyl come, and (as well as  
though they were called) offer theim  
selues to beare equally the burden of  
the labour.

Although there be many and sun-  
dye instrumentes of warre, and dy-  
uers the inuentions to batter and to  
ruinate a citie, notwithstanding thou  
needest not vse them all, but only those

which thou mayst commodiously. And  
 without doubt, if I shoulde undertake  
 to teach thee, I were not able to name  
 all those, which are to be occupied, I  
 meane the Armes, the Testudini the  
 Minie, the Balistes, the Bridges, and  
 such like woozke and Engins: for as  
 much as suche thinges, appertaine to  
 the riches and power of them that  
 make the warre, and also to the witt-  
 nes of the Architectures, and Artifi-  
 cers, and vnto the cunning and subtil-  
 nes in artificially making them. But  
 that whiche aboue all thing, agreeth  
 wyth the prudence of a Captaine,  
 me thinkes is specially to chose some  
 parte of the citie, or castell, where like  
 woozkes & ordinaunce may be brought  
 vnto. For that thou canst not easely  
 compass all the citie about, and assault  
 all partes thereof, with woozkes and  
 Engins; except the castell were very  
 smal and litle. When hauing deuised  
 thy men into sundry partes, and dis-  
 posed them by order, thou shalt com-  
 maund that ladders be giuen to y other  
 places of the citie, & that scaling lad-  
 ders be also brought to the wall, so  
 that the citezens maye knowe to bee  
 oppressed on euery side, & through such  
 difficult,

cultis to be constrayned, that they can not well deliberate to what parte of the Citie they ought to geue succour. Seyng that if the other partes be abandoned and that they shal attende to the same, whereunto the Ingins are planted, the Shoulbours beyng made ready to the schallyng, not letted of any man, wtht faclety may get vpon the wall: or els if the towne men deuiding them selues throught al places, wll euery one accordyng to his strength, do the best they can to defende those which shalbe placed against the violence of the Ingins, and instrumentes of warre, can not being but a fewe, susteine the wayghtines of the sayghte, nor repulse the fury of so hotte and terrible assault.

Wherfoze it shalbe to very good purpose & profitable, to make as though in diuers places thou wouldest assault the city, so that throught the sūdy preparations, and for the dyuers maners to ouercome it, thou deuide in manye partes the force, and the Countreys of the Citizins, and keepe thei myndes troubled; and here and there to dyaue and retyze them. Wherby thou in this mean while, of that part,

which with all thy power shalt stande  
intentine to saight, moze easely mayst  
opprelle the Citie, and take it, as it  
were a certayne body.

But if thou makest haste, and infoz  
cest thy selfe spreadely to wyne some  
Castel or Citie, or els some Forte, and  
that thou seeest nowe thy Souldiours  
thzough labour to be weery, and that  
it shoulde not tourne thee well to de  
ferre the enterpryse, noz to remoue  
the Souldiours from the sayght, then  
it is nedefull for thee, to deuyde thy  
men into sundrye orders, hauyng re  
spekte to the number of them, and to  
the greatnes of the Citie.

And beginning in the fyrst watche  
of the nyght, the tyme to sayght being  
equally deuided betwene them, the  
squadrons with equal space put in or  
der, boldlye undertake the enter  
pryse. And after the first warde, cause  
the seconde, to succede, and the thyrde  
next the same, and the fourth, and the  
fifte also, if so many shall nede: rely  
uing nowe the one, & nowe the other.  
So that whyles y one squadron saigh  
teth, the other may ordinariey repose  
them selues & slepe. Finally the night  
ended, in the beginning of the daye, re  
turne

turne the very same order: & so returning from time to time, continue the enterprize, distributing the bandes & deuising them, course by course. In which maner, shal happen two things, which is, that day and night without any delay of time, they shal faighte, & those which are weary, shalbe relieved of the lusty, refreshed throughte rest, which by their tourne they haue take. For let no mā thinke, that citizens besieged, can vse the selfe same counsell, and that disposed with the same order, although thei be many, may with like maner & w<sup>th</sup> erchaūging now the one, now the other, without disturbance & most great labour, defende the selues. For as much as euery man, which remembereth to stande in perill, albeit he supposeth that the comoditie is geuen him to slepe, neuerthelesse he can take no rest. For that considering the danger that standeth him vpon, he is constrained to watche, as though the Citie wers like to go in ruin in y<sup>e</sup> meane time that he slepeth & repositeth himself. But peraduenture some wyl saye, what thinkest thou that the Captaine is made of a Diamant, or elles of Steele? Whyche in all these

J. iiii.

things,

thynges, that by the space of course  
 he to all the armie deuoyded, he onely  
 continually ought to stand vigilant,  
 & neuer him selfe to take rest. Surely  
 I do not seke this of him, no: to bidde  
 not that at a time he geue himselfe to  
 quietnes & to slepe, so that he do it mo-  
 derately, and that the slepe be short: &  
 in that while, do chuse some faithfull  
 and valiaunt manne, which for repu-  
 tacion and authoritie, hath the second  
 place, after the Captain, and the char-  
 ge of governing to be geuen him.

Sometyme those partes of the Citie  
 which be of some high rocke, & dauge-  
 rousnes, or els otherwise fortified of  
 nature, hath ben seen to haue geuen to  
 those who haue overcome them, grea-  
 ter occasion to take and win the citie,  
 then suche walles haue done, whiche  
 wylth arte, and wylth hands haue bene  
 made sure and strong, & therfore they  
 are reputed, to be moze weake. And in  
 dede those places that be fortified by  
 nature, are wont to be kept moze neg-  
 ligently, wylth none, or but wylth a smal  
 garison of Souldiers: And in this case  
 the wise and wittie Captaine trussing  
 in suche occasion, maye study and find  
 out, that whiche is to be done: and  
 wylth

wyth rewarde and wyth promysse,  
like to induce some of his men which  
are most bolde, that they inforce them  
selues eyther with ladders, or other  
wise, to get by on that parte, whete is  
most adoe to clyme. And yf peraduen-  
ture they shalbe gotten by, and secret-  
lye entered within the wall. Let them  
take some gate of the Citie, whether  
it be great or litle; and inforce theym  
selues to open it, and to kepe it open.  
And to this thing shalbe of most great  
helpe, if in some maner, they shal from  
without, draw bype to the wall, some  
trumpet, the which in a sudden shoulde  
begin to sounde. For that the enemy-  
es hearing the trumpet from the wal,  
and inespically by night, it shal put  
great feare in the myndes of the Citi-  
zens, thinking now for city to be take, &  
them selues altogether to be overcom-  
wherby being made afraide, they wil  
forsake the gates, and the places of  
watche and warde, and take theim to  
their heles, that way, which they shal  
thinke most mete. Wherfore to the  
other souldiers, whiche looke for the  
ende of the thyng, it wylbe easie, ha-  
uing no manner of incounter, eyther

the

the gates being broken to enter, or els  
with ladders to get vppon the wall.  
In this maner with one trumpet, and  
the same vnarmed, thou mayest take  
and wyne a Citie.

*Of the Citie taken.*



**I**f thou take a ci-  
ty which for the number  
of worthines of þe citizis,  
are thought puissant,  
whereby is to bee fea-  
red, leaſt they drawing together with  
often turning backe, ſetting them ſel-  
ues againſt thy menne, do make reſi-  
ſtaunce, or els keeping the higheſt pla-  
ces, and afterwarde from thence ſore  
hurt thy ſouldiers, or els at the ende  
retire in ſome hold, from whence after  
accoꝝdyng to occaſyon they may pſe-  
ſue out to geue thee the aſſault, whi-  
leſt the thing ſhalbe in ſuch caſe, thou  
muſt openly cauſe to be vnderſtoode,  
that who ſo euer ſhal lay downe their  
weapons, and willingly vnarm them-  
ſelues, by no manner of wiſe ſhall be  
killed of thy ſouldiers. Becauſe euery  
man ſekes firſt to do to other that,  
which he thinkes, ſhal happen to him  
ſelfe



self, when so ever he is taken, & therein  
 he doth inforce him selfe, to pzeuent o-  
 ther. Whereby hath happened, that  
 some often tymes by force, haue dy-  
 uen out the ennemies now dispersed  
 in the taken Citie, or els, if they were  
 not able so to doe, they haue rettyed in  
 some excedding strong Rocke, so that  
 a new they haue hadde power to geue  
 trauaile and labour to their enemyes,  
 after suche sort, that the aduersaries  
 haue bene dzyuen to a new siege, and  
 somtime much longer & moze difficult  
 then y first, passing thzough many pe-  
 rils. And maye chaunce, by publishing  
 thy decree in euery place, al or at lest  
 wise y greater part, wil cast down their  
 weapons. For y those which are so dys-  
 dainfull agaynst the enemy, that they  
 desire with force of armes to attempt  
 fortune, haupng suspiccon whether  
 the other Citizens be of the same dis-  
 position or not, will come also to laye  
 downe their weapons. And by this it  
 happeneth, that albeit that euery one  
 of them would vse their weapons, and  
 trie their strengthes, notwithstanding  
 particularly, the one hauing suspicion  
 of the other, they wpll all make haste  
 to lay down their weapons, euery man  
 douting to remaish himself only armed  
 being

seping that the shortnes of tyme, and  
of thinges doth not permit that they  
may manifest a newe their myndes,  
and then to take counsell. Præserti-  
mè, those whiche haue desire to saue  
thepm selues, and that all manner of  
wayes do attende to their owne safe-  
gard, tll suche time as some hope of  
the same be offered and shewed them,  
althoughe with veruent minde for  
their safety they would yelde, yet con-  
strained of verye necessity, they re-  
siste those that come to hurt them. Al-  
beit when they fynde but little hope of  
safegarde, then of proud enemyes, be-  
coming humble with prayers, they  
wilbe gladd to selte the. Whereby  
with like decree thou shalt induce also  
to laye downe their weapons, those  
whiche by force of armes haue deter-  
mined to defende themselves.

*Of staying the reuenge against those  
which are overcome.*



**T**he death which  
chaunfeth to souldiers  
faighting, in no maner  
of wise hath neede, nei-  
ther of comfort, nor of  
com,

cōpassion, as the same which hath hap-  
ned through loue of vertue & for desire  
to ouercom. But after y obtained vic-  
tory, hauing now wonne and taken  
the citie, the kyllyng in euery place the  
ouercommied, is to cōquerours a thing  
moſte miserable, and rather then ver-  
tue, a testimony of crueltie and foolish-  
nes. And although thou be angered &  
made cruel against the ouercommied &  
subdued, y must not therefore thinke,  
to suffer harme, either of thy reputa-  
tion, or of thy affayres, if the enemies  
so lone as they are oppressed, haue not  
been slayne. For that lesurly, at thy  
conuoluntie, all perill of saigthing ta-  
ken awaye, thou mayest deliberate,  
what thou wilt do with the enemye  
that thou hast conquered.

*Of the Citie whiche by force  
of Armes can not be  
ouercome.*



**I**f thou haue not  
hope to be able to ouer-  
come and take by force of  
Armes, the same Citie  
that

that thou haste besieged, and that for  
 such occasion, thou muste prolong the  
 siege, and that neuerthelesse it is to be  
 iudged, that by length of time, & by sa-  
 mine thou maist get such a Citie, thou  
 shalt cause to be taken in y<sup>e</sup> Countrey,  
 and in the fieldes, as manye as thou  
 findest, and of these chuse theym,  
 whyche for valiauntnes of minde, for  
 lustines of bodie, and for flourishing-  
 nes of age, shal seme vnto thee apt for  
 the war, whom thou mayst vse where  
 thou shalt tourne thee to commoditie, and  
 when thou knowest them to be profy-  
 table in thy affaires. But the women,  
 the chyldeyren, the olde folke, and those  
 which by other occasion be weak, and  
 not meete to saight, thou shalt inforce  
 to enter into the Citie, as those why-  
 che can not woork, nor helpe in anye  
 thing the same, which for the defence  
 of a Citie is desired, so that they much  
 soner consuming the vittayles, may be  
 of so great harme to the besteged  
 citizens, that they may be re-  
 puted a great deale son-  
 ner ennemies, then  
 frendes, or ney-  
 boures.

Of the behauiour, whereby the Cap-  
taine ought to vse, after the  
Warre is ended.



After that the af-  
fayres of warre, vnder  
thy government is done  
and ended, so that, the  
same accomplished, thou  
haue lybertie to make an ende of all  
thinges, shew not thy selfe proud and  
seuere, but rather humble, pleasant, &  
gentle, and consequently, louing to al  
men. For as muche as the firste thin-  
ges, breeds enuye, and the other in-  
duceth emulation and affection. En-  
uye, is the hauing grieffe & sorowe at  
the prosperitie of other: and emulaci-  
on is the desire to folow the vertue of  
other. But they be betwene theym  
so contrarpe, that he which hath en-  
uye, desireth that none haue any good.  
And he that hath emulation, hath de-  
syre to byng to passe in lyke maner,  
suche thynges, as other by them-  
selues haue honozably attained.

When a man of a good minde shall  
vse

not onely be a good guyde of armed  
men: and of a countrey, but also  
a wise Captayne, a dili-  
gent preseruer and go-  
uernor, in augmenting  
his bond: and in con-  
seruing the same

perpetuallige

without

абу рс

rih.

The ends

# THE TABLE OF

the principall thinges which

in this booke are contained.

**I**F what occasion menne saight  
unfortunately. fol. iii.

The Romaynes through prudence,  
by counceyl, and with the seates of war,  
obtainned the Empire of the world. fol. iiii.

They, which attribute all infelicity only to  
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